



RACIST FROM TOP TO BOTTOM

Oppression is built into the system
>>Pages 14&15

WE WRECKED RULERS' VISITS

Mass protests can ruin Trump's royal tea party
>>Pages 10&11



LABOUR'S SHIFTING VOTE

Party must take on Tories and scapegoating
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Socialist Worker

£1 | No 2542 | 22-28 February 2017 | socialistworker.co.uk

AS THOUSANDS SAY NO TO TRUMP...



Protesting against Donald Trump in London on Monday PICTURE: SOCIALIST WORKER

WE CAN FIGHT TORY RACISM



JOIN THE DEMONSTRATIONS

STAND UP TO RACISM ON 18 MARCH

★ London ★ Glasgow ★ Cardiff ★ For details see page 2 ★ standuptoracism.org.uk

HEALTH SERVICE

Resist the assault on the NHS

by TOMÁŠ TENGELY-EVANS

THE TORIES' NHS plans will mean hospital closures across England.

Their Sustainability and Transformation Plans (STPs), which divide England into 44 "footprints", will cut hospital services in two thirds of England, according to the BBC.

The STPs hope to shift care from hospitals onto "primary care" based in the community.

But council social care services have been slashed.

This has meant that patients often cannot be discharged because there aren't enough social care packages.

That's set to worsen. Responding to news this week that the government is not going to increase funding



The NHS faces a growing crisis

to councils, the Tory chair of the Local Government Association said, "Social care faces a funding gap of at least £2.6 billion by 2020".

He added that "our most vulnerable continue to face an ever more uncertain future".

There is growing opposition to the STPs, with local groups springing up across England to oppose them.

The fact that the King's Fund health charity, which supports the STPs, has been critical shows that they are in trouble.

Now we need to unite those fights.

The national "It's Our NHS" protest on 4 March is our chance to do that.

>>for more see page 17



THE THINGS
THEY SAY ...

**‘What really matters
is that transatlantic
alliance’**

Tory MP Julian Lewis defends the
Trump visit

**‘Take him by the
hand and try and
lead him down
the paths of
righteousness’**

Lewis approves of Theresa May
holding hands with Trump

**‘What complaint
did you make when
Emperor Hirohito
came here, who was
responsible for the
rape of Nanking?’**

Tory Jacob Rees-Mogg

**‘Infinitely the right
thing to do’**

Former Tory minister Simon Burns
on the state visit

**‘I think it is a no
brainer’**

Burns drones on and on during the
debate

**‘We would be
crackers to do so’**

Tory MP James Cartledge opposes
cancelling the invite to Trump

**‘Our best hope is we
keep it short’**

Labour MP Liam Byrne from
Birmingham



Streets belong to rising anti-Trump movement

by SADIE ROBINSON

THE MOVEMENT against the racist, sexist bigot Donald Trump returned to the streets this Monday.

Thousands gathered in Parliament Square as MPs debated Theresa May’s planned state visit for the US president. Thousands more protested across Britain.

Melanie from Swansea was protesting in London. “I don’t think we should legitimise such a racist, sexist homophobe with a state visit,” she said.

First-time protester and university student Muna agreed, “We don’t want Trump to come—there is enough racism here. We should remember that we didn’t actually vote for Theresa May.”

The protests were smaller than those against Trump’s Muslim ban earlier this month, but they reflected a serious anti-racist mood.

Many people stressed the impact that Trump’s election can have—and the need to resist.

Incitement

London protester Raf said Trump’s actions were “basically incitement to violence”.

Libby added, “Because of Nigel Farage, people think they can shout their racist filth and it’s okay.”

“We need to make sure Trump doesn’t become the norm.”

Zeinab Mohamed was protesting in Manchester. “My daughter was held at the airport for five hours,” she said.

“Why? Because she has a stamp in her passport from Somalia. We have



OUTSIDE PARLIAMENT on Monday night

PICTURE: SOCIALIST WORKER

to stand up to Donald Trump—and the Muslim community needs to join these protests.”

The protests are still pulling in people who have never demonstrated before. But many were on their second protest. Others hadn’t protested for decades.

Labour Party member Grant said he hadn’t demonstrated since joining Anti Nazi League demonstrations 30 years ago.

In London lots of school, college and university students joined the protest.

Sixteen year old student Liver came from Birmingham. “As a queer person I’m told I should hate Muslims because they’re homophobic,” she

said. “I have lots of Muslim friends and I know that’s not true.”

Some saw the protests mainly as a show of strength. Student Maria said the protests helped “show that there’s hope”.

Council worker Harriet said, “We have to show that we don’t agree with Theresa May sucking up to Trump.”

Sucking

Others stressed that the protests could win. As school student Ellie said, “We’ve seen that protesting has got people places before.”

The London protest was organised by the Stop Trump group and backed by Stand Up To Racism

(SUTR). SUTR co-organised many of the demos outside London.

The next step must be the national Stand Up To Racism demonstrations in London, Glasgow and Cardiff on 18 March.

Writer AL Kennedy told the Glasgow rally, “I will be marching on 18 March because I am a human being.”

Mass anti-racist protests on 18 March can give a boost to all those suffering racism and help turn the tide against May.

On other pages...

Protests across the US resist Donald Trump >>Pages 4&5

Nationwide action for migrant rights

MIGRANT rights organisation One Day Without Us also organised protests, rallies and workplace activities throughout Monday.

“It went really well,” said Ake Achi, one of the organisers of the day.

“This is just the beginning really, this movement just started.

“People need to expect more things coming up.”

The organisation asked supporters to meet at 1pm

in public spaces for protests and rallies. People in dozens of towns and cities took part in over 100 protests and actions.

Holding

They ranged in size from hundreds marching through town centres to visiting workplaces, holding lunchtime protests or gathering together to eat meals.

Trade unionists also organised group photos in

some schools and hospitals at lunchtime showing solidarity with migrant colleagues. Gwyneth Powell-Davis was on the protest in Bristol. “About 300 people gathered to cry out in rage at Trump and his walls,” she told Socialist Worker.

“It included the One Day Without Us celebration of the contribution of migrant workers”.

For more information on upcoming One Day Without Us events, go to bit.ly/2m3bhmz



Leeds was one of the many towns and cities that held demonstrations

PICTURE: NEIL TERRY

‘Reaction to Trump can be catalyst for fightback’

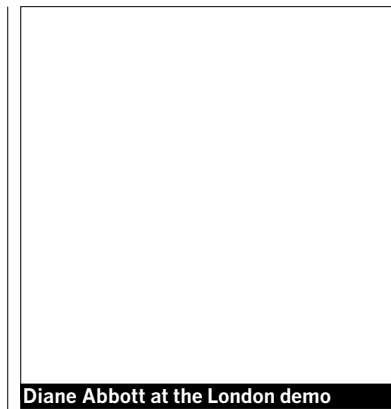
SPEAKERS AT the London rally included socialists, trade unionists, politicians, students, artists and campaigners.

Shadow home secretary Diane Abbott was cheered when she said, “I have always tried to stand up to racism and anti-immigrant sentiment.”

Shadow chancellor John McDonnell brought a message from Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn.

“The award of a state visit is usually an honour given to a respected world leader,” he said. “There is no way Donald Trump deserves this honour.”

Julia from the Jewish Socialist Group said, “We are protesting today as Jews in solidarity with Muslims, refugees and against all racism.”



Diane Abbott at the London demo

“We won’t give up, because protest works.”

Several speakers stressed the need for further action.

Poet Aliyah Hasinah urged people to “have those difficult

conversations” and “call racism out”.

Anti-war campaigner Salma Yaqoob asked the crowd, “Will you take the message into the streets, workplaces, universities and neighbours?”

“The answer was a resounding “Yes!”.

Talha Ahmad from the Muslim Council of Britain said protesters would “fill the streets” in the event of a Trump visit.

Murad Qureshi from the Stop the War Coalition said Trump must get “a reception he’s not going to forget”.

Speakers stressed the need to challenge racism here.

Dave Ward, CWU union general secretary, warned that Trump’s rhetoric could also be heard “from the government

and the populist right in this country”.

He added that opposition to Trump “can be a catalyst for a real fightback”.

Anti-racist campaigner Maz Saleem said, “We need to stand united and stand up to our own prime minister.”

Unison national equalities officer Margaret Greer promised the union’s support for those opposing Trump. Kevin Courtney, general secretary of the NUT union, said it was “vital” that teachers get involved.

Other speakers included human rights campaigner Bianca Jagger, National Union of Students president Malia Bouattia and Guardian newspaper columnist Owen Jones.

Activists vow to mount mass opposition if bigot comes

A UNITED call to organise against the racist, sexist bigot Donald Trump went out from a national forum in London last Saturday.

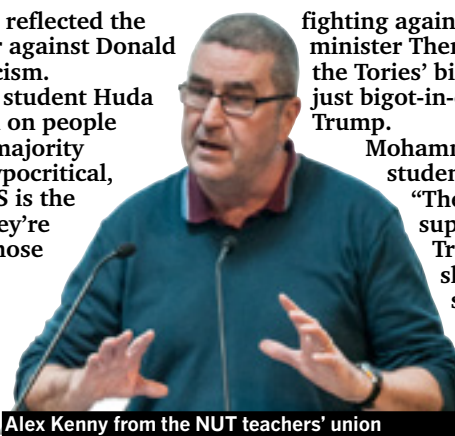
The Stand Up To Trump Summit brought together more than 300 people from across the rising movement against Trump’s bigotry and racism.

It was called by a broad range of organisations, including Stand Up To Racism, Stop the War, the Muslim Association of Britain, the People’s Assembly, and the Abortion Rights campaign among many others.

The summit reflected the growing anger against Donald Trump and racism.

Manchester student Huda said, “The ban on people from Muslim majority countries is hypocritical, because the US is the reason that they’re fleeing from those countries.”

Lindsey German from Stop the War Coalition argued that we’re



Alex Kenny from the NUT teachers’ union

fighting against prime minister Theresa May and the Tories’ bigotry too, not just bigot-in-chief Donald Trump.

Mohammed, a student, agreed, “Theresa May’s supporting Trump because she has got the same values as he has.”

Delegates shared their experiences about how

they are organising against Trump.

Weyman Bennett from Stand Up To Racism called on people to join the Stand Up To Racism national demonstrations on 18 March.

Other speakers at the forum included Kevin Courtney and Alex Kenny from the NUT teachers’ union, Mohammed Kozbar from the Muslim Association of Britain and Faduma Hassan from Labour left group Momentum.

For a longer version of this article, go to bit.ly/213yDo0

Thousands join demos across Britain

PROTESTS AND marches across Britain took place on Monday night as MPs debated the petition protesting Trump’s state visit (see below).

While thousands protested in Parliament Square, 1,000 came out onto the streets of Leeds.

Meanwhile in Norwich 150 people joined a rally and 200 protested in Swansea.

In Portsmouth some 70 people came to a rally and heard from health campaigner Veronica speak out about how the NHS wouldn’t exist without migrants.

In Plymouth, trade council secretary Kevin Treweek spoke against the council’s decision to invite Trump to the town. “There will be more protests as long as Trump is president,” he said.

Kris Hedges from Cardiff told Socialist Worker, “Around 500 people took to the streets in Cardiff tonight.”

In Birmingham, where it has been rumoured that Donald Trump is set to come as part of his ill-fated state visit, some 200 people joined the demonstration.

“We marched to the town hall,” Sharon Campion told Socialist Worker. “The march was led by members of Disabled People Against the Cuts and there were chants of unity from a large contingent of students.”

Hundreds more protested in Newcastle, Sheffield and Glasgow.

The protests have shown that a mood exists to resist Trump and the hate and bigotry he represents across Britain.

That must be directed at our ruling class as well in the coming weeks and months.

Tories back state visit in debate

TORIES BACKED Donald Trump and excused his vile sexism during an MPs’ debate on Trump’s state visit on Monday evening.

Sir Edward Leigh dismissed Trump’s boasts about grabbing women “by the pussy”.

Leigh said, “Which one of us has not made some ridiculous sexist comment in our past? Well, in private, you know.”

The debate was provoked by two petitions—one demanding the state visit be cancelled and another supporting it.

There was no vote and the government issued its official response before the debate took place.

“We look forward to welcoming president Trump once dates and arrangements are finalised,” it said.



Thousands take action across US as Trump's woes mount

by ALISTAIR FARROW

US PRESIDENT Donald Trump is facing serious problems. He has not yet been able to fill key positions and the protests against him are deepening.

Thousands of people took to the streets in the US last week in a show of defiance to Trump's presidency. Activists shut down workplaces and demonstrated.

Tens of thousands took part in "A Day Without Immigrants" strikes and protests last Thursday. Some 7,000 people marched through Charlotte, North Carolina as part of the action.

Protests were organised in Raleigh, North Carolina, and Austin, Texas. Thousands of people joined demonstrations in Chicago and Detroit. Some schools were shut down in Los Angeles.

A "national strike" was organised on Friday, taking different forms in dozens of cities and towns.

One of the organisers, Sakina Bryant, spoke to Socialist Worker about what happened in Rohnert Park, California.

"There were ten events in my area, and many businesses have shut down," she said.

"Across the country I know of hundreds of events with an awful lot of people. Our purpose is to say 'no' to Donald Trump."

Teach-outs

Students and university workers walked out and held teach-outs as part of Friday's protests.

And Michael Drexler from Bucknell university in Pennsylvania said, "We had over 200 participants on Friday."

Lawyers also took part in Friday's stoppages. A spokesperson from the legal defence fund organisation Latino Justice PRLDEF told Socialist Worker, "Most of the mobilising was at the grassroots level and through word of mouth."

Some 50 lawyers took part in St Louis, Missouri. And hundreds of people demonstrated in New York City's Washington Square Park.

BACK STORY

There have been protests across the US ever since Donald Trump became president

●Protests last week included walkouts by migrants and students

●They come after taxi drivers at New York's JFK airport struck against Trump's travel ban last month

●And some 1,000 mostly Yemini shopkeepers in New York shut down their "bodegas" for eight hours

Dakota Access Pipeline activists held protests as part of the day of action.

Some 60 people protested in Corvallis, Orgeon. Protests and organisations are feeding into each other and linking up.

Although Friday's strike didn't involve trade unions officially, some union members were involved. It provides the basis for even larger mobilisations in the future.

Santander bank workers were set to demonstrate on Tuesday across the US.

Their demands include decent pay, stable jobs and opposition to Trump's financial deregulation policies.

Migrant rights organisations have called for another national strike on 1 May to push the movement forward.

And in a statement, organisers of the Women's March called on people to "unite again in our communities for A Day Without A Woman" on 8 March—International Women's Day.

PROTESTERS CHEER on A Day Without Migrants protest in Detroit

Fast food boss has had his chips after workers serve up resistance

TRUMP CAN'T seem to be able to put a cabinet together.

Even some of the committed racists and misogynists that fill the upper echelons of the Republican Party and the US establishment are having second thoughts.

First his pick for national security adviser, the Islamophobe Mike Flynn, was forced to step down. He had made phone calls with the Russian ambassador while the election was still happening.

Then the admiral Trump had lined up to replace Flynn, Robert Harward, didn't want the job either. Sections of the ruling class see Trump as toxic and don't want anything to do with him (see page 6).

Finally general HR McMaster filled in the lead shoes. But perhaps most significantly Trump's nominee for labour secretary Andy Puzder, CEO of multiple fast food chains, was forced to pull out last week.

One crucial reason behind that was ignored by the mainstream

press—the role of organised workers. Anna Susman from the Fight for \$15 campaign spoke to Socialist Worker about how they organised to defeat Puzder.

"Industry front groups such as the National Restaurant Association launched a last-minute scramble to save Andy Puzder's embattled nomination," she said. But, she explained, "The opposition to Puzder has been

relentless and started the first day he was nominated."

Organisations such as the National Employment Law Project and Jobs With Justice, along with local organisations and activists coordinated the campaign.

Anna said, "Thousands of fast food workers flooded the streets in three successive rounds of protests hitting dozens of cities since early January."

Workers occupied the headquarters of Hardee's, one of Puzder's fast food chains.

They protested on Capitol Hill in Washington, DC.

A social media campaign saw the #NotOurLaborSec reach 42 million people. And workers filed 39 wage theft, sexual harassment and intimidation complaints at Puzder restaurants.

The actions have shown the potential for workers to play a bigger role in the upcoming mobilisations.

Trade unions can and must get involved in the political fight against Trump.

Puzder bun-derestimated workers

Racist crackdown leaves immigrants living in fear

DANGEROUS new powers were granted to federal authorities on Friday of last week as part of Trump's racist crackdown on migrants.

Orders signed by John F Kelly, head of the Department of Homeland Security, will see thousands of immigration officers recruited and armed with vicious new powers.

These include making it possible to rapidly deport any undocumented migrant who has lived in the US for up to two years. Previously it was two weeks.

They would also mean that parents of children caught by border guards can be prosecuted for sending their children to find a better life.

And they mean that Mexican "illegal" migrants caught would be immediately sent back pending the outcome of deportation hearings, rather than housed temporarily in the US.

And a leaked memo on Friday of last week appeared to show that the Trump administration was

considering mobilising 100,000 national guards to round up undocumented migrants.

Kelly's signature was on the order and Trump's press officer Sean Spicer denied Trump had any knowledge of it. But he did acknowledge the memo was a speculative response to Trump's executive order dealing with immigration.

Migrant communities are living in fear.

Raids have been increasing in frequency in the month since Trump's

inauguration, with a spike last week. Hundreds of people were rounded up across 11 states.

"It's not clear how extensive the raids were in Texas," a spokesperson from the Detained Migrants Solidarity Committee told Socialist Worker.

"It is causing a panic everywhere, so people are prepping.

"People are making arrangements if a family member is deported, refusing to answer their door and possibly moving or leaving their work to go more under the radar."

Stand Up To Racism rallies build March demonstrations

STAND UP To Racism (SUTR) rallies around Britain are building for national demonstrations on Saturday 18 March.

There was standing room only at York's largest anti-racism meeting in living memory last Wednesday.

As many as 175 people took part.

Decked

Union banners decked out the room—as well as a banner from York Labour Party.

Then York's mayor and mayoress, complete with ceremonial chains, opened the meeting and donated to SUTR.

Former Guantanamo Bay prisoner Moazzam Begg spoke of the importance of mass

protest. He explained how he had learned to "smile in the face of the oppressor" during his time in Guantanamo.

Roma writer and activist Laura Munteanu read out a moving poem.

There was a real sense of unity.

Green councillor Denise Craighill said, "Confronting racism is everyone's business.

"We must do everything including protest, support asylum seekers, lobby our MPs and maybe take direct action when Donald Trump comes to visit."

One coach from York to the London demonstration has already been filled, and activists at the meeting took away 5,000 leaflets to keep

building.

Another meeting in the Black Country on Wednesday brought an audience of about 70. Another 70 people joined a SUTR meeting in Hull.

Diverse

And around 50 people packed into Barnsley's largest and most diverse anti-racist meeting for many years last Saturday.

Shahab Adris from Muslim Engagement and Development (Mend) in Yorkshire talked about how politicians and the media whip up Islamophobia.

This is just the start of building SUTR as a mass anti-racist movement.

For details of upcoming Stand Up To Racism rallies see page 12

Socialist Worker
WHAT WE THINK

MAKE 18 MARCH A DAY OF REVOLT AGAINST RACISM

THE PROTESTS against US president Donald Trump and his state visit have been magnificent, but the government is still determined that he will come.

When he does, there needs to be a repeat of the activity seen when warmonger George W Bush came in 2003 (see pages 10 & 11).

Foreign office minister Sir Alan Duncan told MPs on Monday that he hoped Trump would receive a "polite and generous" welcome. Think again.

Trump should face mass protests wherever he goes. Let's plan to block the roads, shut down universities and colleges and take action in workplaces.

Trump must be met by a society in upheaval.

Building this movement will mean continued solidarity with those fighting back in the US.

The US movement needs to feel global support. Every defeat for Trump will be a victory for the wider battles against racism, sexism, austerity and environmental catastrophe.

We look across the Atlantic, but we have to root ourselves in the struggles here.

From the start the fight against

Trump in Britain has also been about Theresa May's entanglement with his policies.

This understanding has to be turned into direct action.

It means redoubling the support for European Union (EU) nationals' rights, solidarity with refugees and increased action against antisemitism, Islamophobia and the Prevent agenda. It means opposing state racism and racist immigration laws.

Any effective campaign is built by giant demonstrations and rallies but also crucially by discussions in workplaces, colleges and schools.

Even some of those who don't agree can be won over to the fight.

The marches against Trump

“**Let's plan to block the roads, shut down colleges and take action at work**

are tens of thousands strong, but we can become hundreds of thousands or millions strong. We need to win over more people.

That means reaching out wider and linking the disgust over Trump to the anger against racism here and the other attacks from May's government.

It must be a movement against the powerful.

This means working further to create one broad anti-Trump movement. Such a movement cannot be divided by how we voted on 23 June.

There are people who voted Leave and people who voted Remain who equally hate what Trump stands for.

They must all be welcome.

On 18 March there are national demonstrations, called by Stand Up To Racism in London, Glasgow and Cardiff. They are backed by many unions, Muslim and anti-racist groups.

They need to be the central focus for everyone who has taken part in the anti-Trump demonstrations or are inspired by them.

Build on what's been achieved by making 18 March a day when we revolt against racism.

lump them together.

There are similarities between the two. They both happened because sections of working class people kicked back at mainstream politicians after decades of attack.

Some did swallow racist myths pushed from the top of society.

But there is a major difference. There could never be a progressive case for supporting Donald Trump—but there has always been a left wing and anti-racist case against the EU.

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MAY DAY GREETINGS



Every year we print solidarity messages from readers, union branches and campaigns. It's your chance to get your May Day greetings in to Socialist Worker's special supplement in 2017. Please make every effort to get your greeting to us by Wednesday 12 April

contact: mayday@socialistworker.co.uk

ANALYSIS

ALEX CALLINICOS



Has the 'deep state' turned on Trump?

ONE STRIKING feature of contemporary politics is the development of intense conflicts within the ruling class, with each side denouncing the other as liars.

We see this in Britain, as that renowned champion of the truth Tony Blair emerges as self-appointed leader of the Remainers' last stand.

The same pattern is seen in the escalating rows between US president Donald Trump and wide sections of the US ruling class. The significance of the dismissal of Mike Flynn, briefly the new president's National Security Adviser, is that it resulted from surveillance and leaking by the National Security Agency and the FBI.

No less than nine intelligence officials helped the Washington Post newspaper break the story about Flynn's communication with Russian officials.

Trump is right that the "intelligence community" is out to get him. In the last few days the ultra-establishment New York Times newspaper and the left wing Jacobin magazine have both carried articles about the "deep state".

This idea originated in Turkey to describe the secret network centred on the military that has made and broken governments for decades.

But the US deep state isn't particularly secret. Michael Glennon published a recent book about "double government". He argued that the supposed pillars of the US constitution—president, congress and supreme court—have been reduced to a "decorative" role.

The "effective" government is provided by what Glennon calls the "Trumanite network"—since it centres on the US national security institutions set up under president Harry S Truman during the late 1940s.

Glennon underestimates the role of the presidency and senior senators and congress members in linking together and lending legitimacy to the Pentagon, the CIA, and the rest of the national security state.

But undoubtedly there is a cadre whose careers cycle between universities, corporations, and these institutions and other key agencies. These managers of the US state are epitomised by war criminal Henry Kissinger and Alan Greenspan, the long-time head of the Federal Reserve central bank.

Infuriated

The Republican wing of this cadre rebelled against Trump's candidacy. They were infuriated by his hostility to institutions such as Nato, which had served US imperialism well. They were also angered by his protectionism—"Buy American and hire American" as Trump said in Florida last Saturday.

Trump has been trying to recruit enough people from this cadre to give his administration credibility with the ruling class at large, while keeping the faith with his racist, nationalist sympathisers.

The latter's leader in the White House is Stephen Bannon, who has been clear about his desire to break up the liberal capitalist international order.

So, as general Raymond Thomas of Special Operations Command said last week, the US "government continues to be in unbelievable turmoil".

Vice president Mike Pence reassured Europe's ruling classes of US support for Nato at the Munich Security Conference last Saturday. But a few hours later Trump repeated his earlier attacks on the Europeans for not spending enough on defence, complaining that "we're fighting battles that no longer help us. We're fighting battles that other people aren't treating us fairly in the fight."

So Flynn's fall is unlikely to be the last ambush mounted on Trump by the Trumanite network.

Does that mean the ruling class as a whole has turned against him? The Washington Post quotes a business historian to the effect that "there's just nothing", in scale or swiftness, that has compared to the corporate response to Trump's entry ban." But stock market prices reached record levels last week on expectations that Trump will be giving corporate America a bonanza of tax cuts and deregulation.

So the jury is still out on the Trump administration. Other ways will no doubt be sought to discipline the new president and bring his administration into line. But on the evidence of the past week or so he's not listening.

The US ship of state is adrift in stormy seas.

Care cuts kill thousands—but councils pass the buck

by RAYMIE KIERNAN

NEW ANALYSIS has linked 30,000 excess deaths in 2015 to the Tories' health and social care cuts. It is the largest increase in deaths in the post war period.

The Royal Society of Medicine published the shock figure last Friday in a study of the reasons behind the rise in mortality rates in England and Wales.

And researchers say that there are already worrying signs of an increase in mortality rates in 2016.

Tory austerity has created a deep crisis in social care which it has compounded by slashing billions of pounds in funding to the NHS.

Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn was right when he told Labour councillors last weekend, "People are dying because of the choices made by this government."

Openly

Even the Tory chair of the Local Government Association (LGA) is openly criticising Theresa May's government.

Lord Porter of Spalding warned that people "might no longer receive the dignified care and support they deserve".

But 1.2 million vulnerable people already cannot get the social care they need.

Nearly all councils in England are preparing a council tax hike to fund social care.

Yet the £543 million this would raise will be swallowed up by the cost of paying scandalously low paid care workers the Tory National

Living Wage, which will stand at just £7.50 an hour in April.

To simply maintain current levels of social care would require an extra £1.1 billion in funding.

Social care is one of many local services being cut to the bone as councillors pass on Tory cuts that target the poorest and most vulnerable—instead of resisting them.

JEREMY CORBYN (left) slammed Theresa May for slashing health and social care budgets

Corbyn said local government is "the frontline" in Labour's battle against Tory austerity.

He added that local services are "in a state of emergency" due to funding cuts of up to 60 percent for some councils.

But try telling teaching assistants (see page 18) having their pay slashed by up to a quarter by Labour councils that their solution is to rely on the protection of the Labour Party.

Workers at Clackmannanshire Council, who are under threat from Labour's 350 compulsory job cuts, won't be convinced by Corbyn saying the Scottish National Party (SNP) "act like Tories in Holyrood".

It is true that the SNP is devolving the axe away from Holyrood (see below) as the Tories are from Westminster, but in many places it is Labour councils swinging it and attacking services.

If the best Labour can do is apologise and squirm about having "difficult choices", then Corbyn is in serious trouble.

Tory cuts are destroying people's lives now and we need to see some real leadership and effective resistance from the Labour Party and the trade unions.

Got a story?
Email ideas to reports@socialistworker.co.uk

SNP cuts budget backed by Greens

THE Scottish government was set to pass its budget on Thursday.

With support from the Greens, the Scottish National Party (SNP) budget will leave Scottish councils with a £225 million cut to revenue funding—it pays for day to day services, most jobs and pay.

This continues the trend since 2010 that has seen the SNP present an "anti-austerity" image while implementing Tory austerity and cuts.

Local councils have

borne the brunt of this austerity policy.

Of the 50,000 jobs cut in the public sector in Scotland, 40,000 have been in local government.

The next round of cuts threatens at least another 15,000 jobs, according to the Unison union.

Last week new figures showed that the richest 1 percent of Scots own more wealth than the poorest 50 percent.

Yet the SNP refused to use the new devolved powers to increase the taxes of the rich to pay for services.

SNP leader Nicola Sturgeon

FIGURE IT OUT

30 thousand excess deaths in 2015 linked to Tory health and social care cuts

1.2 million vulnerable people already can't get the social care that they need

50 thousand jobs cut in the public sector in Scotland, 40,000 have been in local government

Cash for the car bosses won't help defend jobs

Calling on the Tories to back 'British firms' will only harm workers' interests, argues Dave Sewell

THERESA MAY faces what some newspapers have called "her first big Brexit industrial crisis" over threats to Vauxhall car factories in Britain.

Vauxhall and its German sister firm Opel could be sold by US giant General Motors (GM) to French PSA, owners of Peugeot and Citroen.

It employs up to 4,500 people at two factories in Ellesmere Port and Luton.

Thousands more work in its support operations and supply chain.

One worker in Luton said bosses had told them nothing and "no one knows what's going on".

Bosses played down fears of job cuts but a reported £1 billion pensions deficit could be used as an excuse to attack workers.

And PSA has little motive to take on a huge liability without "rationalising" its combined operation.

Both the government and the main union at Vauxhall, Unite, fear that exit from the European single market could tip the scales towards making cuts in Britain rather than Germany or France.

So Tory business secretary Greg Clark promised PSA the same "assurances" it gave Nissan last year.

To keep Nissan in Sunderland, the government offered a package of subsidies and support to protect car manufacturing in the region.

Preferential

The government insists it gave no preferential treatment to Nissan—but it did throw money at giving the firm what it wanted.

The lesson hasn't been lost on PSA. When you threaten job cuts, you get sweetheart deals. The fact that it's worked again will encourage other firms to try the same blackmail.

Profit-chasing bosses shift investment and attack workers for reasons that have nothing to do with Brexit.

US car workers have seen their pay and conditions slashed even though Brexit doesn't affect their plants.

Unite general secretary Len McCluskey said that Brexit is "a

BACK STORY

Vauxhall car plants in Britain could be sold to French firm PSA

Some newspapers have said Tory prime minister Theresa May faces a "Brexit industrial crisis"

But bosses move investments, chase profit and slash jobs for reasons unconnected to Brexit

The workers' Unite union leader shares "common ground" with the Tory business secretary

This raises the spectre of a deal at Vauxhall in 2012—celebrated as a victory—that shafted workers

factor". But he rightly added, "We need to make certain that nobody's looking to use Brexit as an excuse".

He demanded the Tories give Vauxhall what it gave Nissan, and stay in the single market.

He said he and Clark had found "common ground in terms of protecting jobs here in Britain".

But while working with British Tories to get sweeteners for British bosses, McCluskey counterposed British jobs to French ones.

"The French government own a significant chunk of Peugeot," he said.

"We want to make certain that our government is not sitting on the sidelines, because you can bet your life that the French government will be defending French jobs."

This raises the spectre of the last time GM played workers in different countries off against each other, in 2012.

Unite agreed to a squeeze on Vauxhall workers' conditions at Ellesmere Port, and celebrated victory when GM decided to shut down Opel's plant at Bochum in Germany instead.

But the only winners were the bosses.



More online

Ellesmere Port deal is no model for workers bit.ly/2mhsUa

UNITE LEADER Len McCluskey thinks partnership with the bosses can save jobs

Pensions green paper repeats old lies

THE GOVERNMENT is piling in behind bosses' attacks on pension schemes with a new green paper calling for cuts.

It echoes the argument that "defined benefit" schemes, which offer workers a retirement income fixed in advance, carry "inherent risks".

Final salary pensions in particular are painted as unaffordable. But the alternative "defined contribution" schemes leave workers' retirement income at the mercy of the stock market.

The green paper launches a consultation on how to keep the schemes affordable after "recent high-profile cases" of schemes in deficit and as people live longer.

It's a lie that bosses can't afford pensions. The deficits are an accounting trick. The money is there, but outside the scheme.

FTSE 100 firms last year handed out £69 billion to shareholders—more than five times the £13 billion they made in pension contributions.

Dividends

Of the 60 companies that say their pension scheme is in deficit, 46 could have cleared their whole shortfall by withholding a year's dividends.

Workers have a right to that money, as their deferred wages.

There is piecemeal resistance to pension attacks. Workers at the Atomic Weapons

Establishment struck again on Tuesday in their fight against bosses' pension robbery.

But too often unions accept the argument about affordability.

Tata steel workers voted last week to accept the closure of their final salary scheme and a 10 percent cut for those who stayed in it.

All the main steel unions backed the deal in order to avoid job losses. But despite this around a quarter of workers voted to reject it.

Tata workers struck against pension cuts in 2015.

Rich bosses plead poverty while showering themselves and their investors with cash.

It's time to draw the line.

FIGURE IT OUT

69 billion pounds handed out to shareholders of FTSE 100 firms last year

13 billion pounds of pension contributions made by those same companies—one fifth of their dividends

46 of these firms could have cleared the deficit they say their pensions schemes are in by not paying dividends for one year

IAN ALLINSON has secured enough nominations to be on the ballot paper for the Unite general secretary election, the union confirmed last week.

Allinson is the grassroots socialist challenger. Incumbent Len McCluskey and right wing

senior official Gerard Coyne are standing too.

While they have been employed by the union for decades, Allinson has recently been on strike over pay, pensions and job security.

His campaign has rightly stressed defence of migrants' rights.

Ian said, "With workers facing attacks on our jobs, pay and conditions, public services and rights, more of the same simply isn't good enough."

"Unite needs a shake-up. "Only a candidate from outside the union's establishment can do this."

Go to ian4unite.org for more information



Ian Allinson is on the ballot

The right is to blame for the shifting Labour vote

Labour must take on the Tories and racism to win back more working class support, says **Nick Clark**

RIGHT WING members of the Labour Party will use by-elections on Thursday of this week to attack Labour's left wing leader **Jeremy Corbyn**.

By-elections in Stoke-on-Trent Central and Copeland in Cumbria were still to take place as Socialist Worker went to press.

But whether Labour wins or loses in either seat, Corbyn's opponents will argue the party has lost touch with many voters in its working class "heartlands".

And they will claim that Corbyn has to win back support by moving to the right on issues such as nuclear power—and by attacking migrants.

The right say Corbyn is too "soft" on immigration and that Labour has to promise immigration controls to address people's "legitimate concerns".

An anonymous Labour MP already claimed last Saturday that if Labour won it would be "because of the hard work of activists on the ground despite the leadership".

It came after ex-Labour leader Tony Blair made a speech last Friday attacking the "debilitation of the Labour Party".

Yet Labour lost five million votes under the right wing leaderships of Blair and Gordon Brown.

Former Stoke MP Tristram Hunt and previous Copeland MP Jamie Reed are both firmly on the right of the Labour Party.

Fall

Yet neither of them stopped the fall of Labour's vote share in their constituencies—which began long before Corbyn's leadership.

Socialist Worker called for a Labour vote in both by-elections.

Anti-racists from North Staffordshire Campaign Against Racism and Fascism campaigned against Ukip in the run-up to the election.

Anti-racist activist Blythe Taylor said, "Most people we've spoken to have said that they didn't like Ukip. And the majority of election posters we've seen in people's windows

BACK STORY

Labour was contesting two key by-elections this week

● Right wing Labour members see them as a chance to push Labour further to the right

● Many claim that Labour needs to be "tougher" on immigration to win more votes

● But Labour previously had right wing MPs in both constituencies, and its share of the vote fell

● Labour needs to stand up to Tory austerity and resist racism to win back working class voters

have been Labour."

She added, "But Ukip have been all out. They've got that big shop in the town centre, and we also saw a British National Party member leafleting in town on Saturday."

Ukip could still pick up on apathy towards Labour—and their strategy of linking that with anti-migrant racism is toxic.

But Labour's campaign has shied away from taking on Ukip's racism. Instead Labour candidates in Copeland and Stoke have focused on defending the NHS.

It's right that Labour speaks out in defence of the NHS. But the fight to defend the NHS has to include a stand against racism.

People can be lulled into accepting the lie that "health tourism" or "too many migrants" are to blame for the NHS crisis.

Labour has lost the support of many working class people—not because it was too soft on migrants but because it has gone along with Tory austerity.

It can win them back by fighting against austerity and attacks on the NHS, for a £10 an hour living wage—and crucially, defending migrants.



On other pages...

When we wrecked rulers' visits
>>Pages 10&11

LABOUR PARTY members in Stoke during the by-election campaign

TRANSPORT

After drivers throw out shoddy deal, united strikes can win on Southern

by **RAYMIE KIERNAN**

SOUTHERN RAILWAY train drivers last week rejected a deal cooked up by the TUC union federation, rail bosses and their Aslef union officials.

The deal was shoddy in its making and its content. Some 54 percent of drivers voting rejected it. The TUC-brokered talks that resulted in the deal excluded the Southern guards' RMT union. RMT general secretary Mick Cash described this as an "historic betrayal".

The Aslef-recommended deal agreed the extension of driver only operation (DOO) and undermined safety and the role of the guard.

Aslef assistant general secretary Simon Weller admitted, "Obviously we got it wrong."

Southern had already imposed a new on board supervisor (OBS) role on the guards last month.

Southern driver and Aslef member Martin told Socialist Worker, "I didn't like the deal at all.

"It was nothing better than

we had been promised already. And the key 'sweeteners', such as the OBS on every train and new cameras would have been required anyway."

RMT guard Victor told Socialist Worker, "A driver put it to me like this. It took them ten days to get this agreement but it only took ten minutes to see what was wrong with it.

Unions

"I hope we can get a deal sorted with both unions involved in the process."

The guards were set to walk out on Wednesday—their 29th strike day in this dispute.

Martin said, "There should be efforts to get back into negotiations but with the Department for Transport (DfT) involved they are clearly pulling strings."

There was a certain irony in the timing of the Aslef result.

It was a year since DfT director of passenger services Peter Wilkinson called train drivers "muppets" and promised "punch ups" with the unions on Southern.

But Wilkinson's "muppets"

turned the heat back on him and the Tories. The union leaders should now work together to beat back the attack on safety that DOO represents.

Southern has been allowed to infringe on the rights of disabled passengers to achieve the Tories' greater goal of extending DOO.

And the firm is guilty of disgraceful bullying and intimidation of trade unionists exercising their right to strike.

It continued that this week by warning guards to "think very carefully" before striking or there could be "individual sanctions" for those who ignored the threat.

Legal action launched by the firm saw Aslef forced to pay almost £1 million for daring to fight back.

But six days of solid drivers' strikes were a powerful response to the imposition of new DOO routes.

They had the bosses and the Tories on the back foot with the majority of passenger opinion on their side.

Aslef and the RMT should put their rivalries aside and set out to win this fight—and a return to public ownership.

A climate of unity

AN EXTREMELY successful conference on Climate and Refugees this month showed the potential to bring together the anger against Donald Trump with wider social movements.

There is a direct link between worsening climate change and the number of people forced to flee their homes. Trump and Theresa May meet these climate refugees with border controls, walls and racism.

Bringing together climate campaigners with anti-racists fighting for freedom of movement and open borders can strengthen our side.

Martin Empson
Manchester

News from somewhere

GERMAN newspaper Bild, the largest selling newspaper in Europe, has been forced to retract its story about sexual assaults by a rioting mob of Arab men in Frankfurt on New Year's Eve. A police inquiry had found that the allegations were completely false.

The term "fake news" is associated with internet media. But Bild, which is similar to the Sun, is part of a vast mainstream media empire.

This story was likely to cause a racist backlash. It was printed on the word of just two people—clearly without fact-checking.

This fake news has caused huge damage, and it's the mainstream media bosses to blame.

Margaret Woods
Glasgow

SNP commitment to EU won't tackle inequality

THE wealthiest 1 percent of Scots own more wealth than the poorest 50 percent according to a Scottish government report.

Scotland also has some of the worst child health in western Europe.

This can't all be blamed on the Scottish National Party (SNP). A major share of that rests with successive Tory and Labour Westminster governments.

But the SNP has been in office for nearly a decade. It has refused to use powers at its disposal to introduce

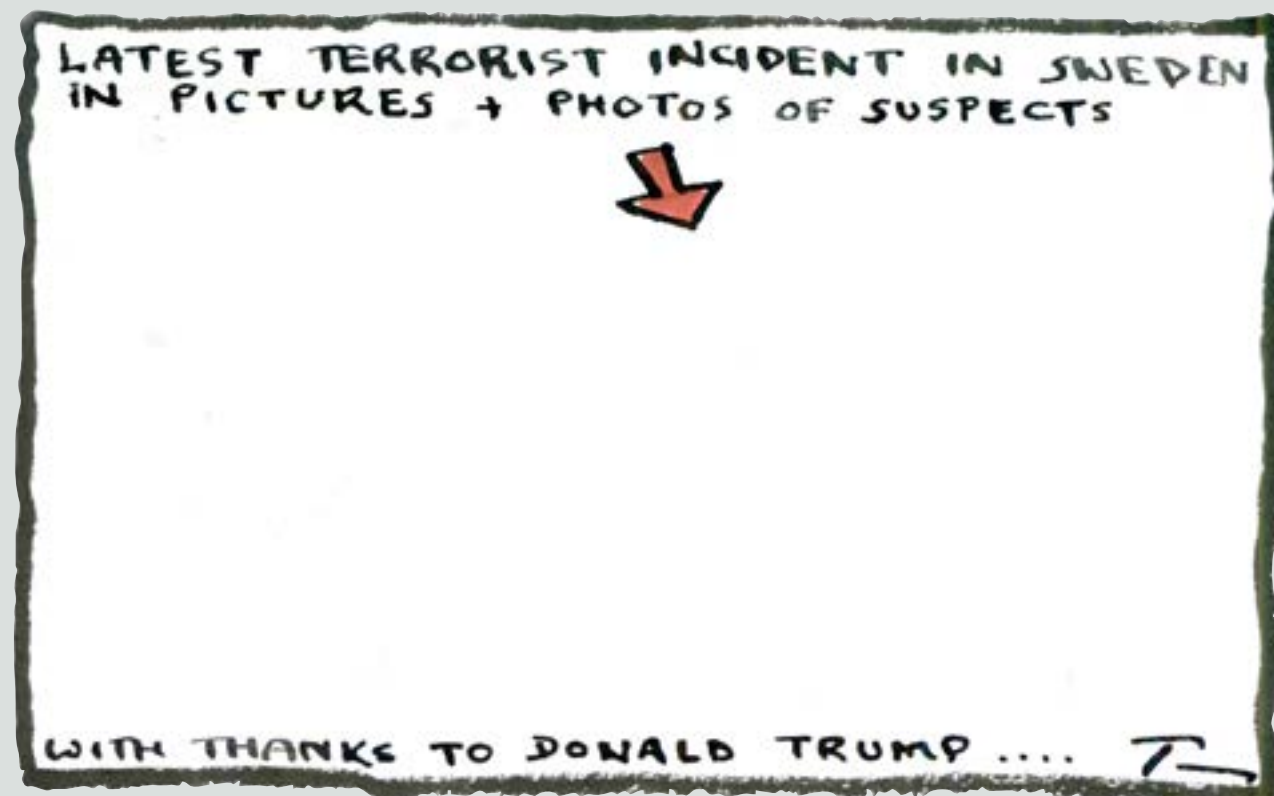


ILLUSTRATION: TIM SANDERS

Racist, lying Nuttall should go back to Tranmere Rovers

WHERE DO we start with Ukip leader Paul Nuttall?

Saying he played for Tranmere Rovers when he clearly never did is borderline mischievous.

The shame he has brought onto the proud multicultural city of Liverpool with his racist ideology and xenophobic outlook is worthy of disowning him as a fellow scouser. But with his lies about the 1989 Hillsborough disaster he's overstepped that mark again.

Nuttall was nowhere to be seen or heard in the many, many years of the struggle for the truth.

Neither have I once heard him denounce the repulsive Sun paper that printed the wholly misguided headline "The truth". Nor has he

given any support to the excellent "Don't buy the Sun" campaign which is gathering pace with councils passing motions to ban it from newsagents.

He would never like to upset his birds of a feather in the establishment, or the likes of Sun owner Rupert Murdoch.

His party try and portray themselves as friends of working class people. The stark reality is they are more right wing than Margaret Thatcher ever was.

Their backers are millionaire businessmen who are all too happy to preach hate and fear like that other grotesque daily, the Mail, to further their own agendas.

Take Arron Banks who recently

said he was sick to death of campaigners fighting for justice.

We never should and never will be taken in by former leader Nigel Farage having a pint and smiling like he could cure all your ills as he texts his inner circle about his next fox hunting jaunt.

Nuttall's a bandwagoner and an opportunist.

I hope he'll be tendering his resignation and stepping back from politics. He's bringing ignominy to himself, his family and the people of Merseyside.

Then he can go back to playing football for Tranmere Rovers reserves!

Roy Bentham

Spirit of Shankly Management Committee

This town used to welcome refugees

A CERAMIC plaque on the wall of the Civic Centre in Southampton commemorates the arrival of 4,000 refugee children from the Spanish civil war.

How is it that 80 years later the world's fifth richest country cannot take in even a tiny fraction of that number?

The government has announced it will wind up the scheme forced on it last year to bring unaccompanied migrant children to Britain.

An amendment to Tory legislation by Labour peer Alf Dubs, who came to



Britain as a 6 year old refugee in 1939, aimed to rescue 3,000 children. The government intends to stop at just 350.

I took a photo of the plaque a year ago as French riot police moved in on the Calais "jungle". In the nearby port

great container ships were coming and going freely, bringing goods from all over the world.

Cruise ships took passport holders off to Egypt and Greece, over the unmarked graves where thousands have drowned for want of a passport.

Seeing Dubs deliver a petition signed by 50,000 people to Downing Street gave me hope. A massive demonstration on Saturday 18 March can help to turn the tide.

Patrick Kinnersley
Romsey

Just a thought...

Fund warfare—not welfare

JUST AS Tony Blair was George Bush's poodle, so now we have Theresa May faithfully parroting Donald Trump's line that Nato members should increase their "defence" spending.

Just think how much better life could be if only European governments would listen, and buy more weaponry instead of frittering money away on health, education or social care.

Richard Purdie
Bradford

What do you really mean?

YOUR ARTICLE on the Labour Party (Socialist Worker online, 9 February) calls for "a fightback in the streets".

What does a fightback in the streets look like?

Collete St Jean
on Facebook

Better left out of bosses' EU

THE EUROPEAN Union (EU) is undemocratic and too centralised.

Left leaning luminaries like Tony Benn, Bob Crow and Michael Foot knew this.

That is why some of us on the left voted Leave. There are many good left wing reasons for leaving the EU.

Geoff Bridges
on Facebook

Brexit hasn't hurt Tories

THE VOTE for Brexit has moved politics to the right, particularly in England—a sort of Falklands War effect.

Socialist Worker predicted a Tory party tearing itself apart. So far that hasn't happened. So what went wrong?

Mick Hawker
on Facebook

Blair's 'help' isn't needed

TONY BLAIR says he's "on a mission". What could possibly go wrong?

Whatever you think of Brexit, the idea that a tax-dodging war criminal and compulsive liar who made immigrants' lives hell can help is a bit of a stretch. Almost as much as Iraq having weapons of mass destruction.

Sam Dyson
Peterborough

Before Trump, there was Bush. When Tony Blair rolled out the red carpet for his mate in the White House, mass protests ruined their royal tea party, writes Nick Clark

THE DESPISED US president comes to Britain for a state visit. But people get organised. Mass protests are planned. Hundreds turn out to public meetings and rallies up and down Britain.

The press get excited. The cops get nervous. The president is forced to change his plans. Hundreds of thousands of people descend on London to greet him with a message—you're not welcome.

That's not 2017—it's 2003, when former US president George W Bush visited Britain six months after launching the disastrous war in Iraq.

There are similarities with Donald Trump's planned state visit later this year. The story of how people resisted Bush's visit shows us what's possible as we prepare to resist Trump.

The visit lasted three days—each day saw thousands take to the streets on protests organised by the Stop the War Coalition to disrupt his plans.

On the first day thousands turned out to demonstrations and rallies in cities across Britain—including 7,000 in Edinburgh and 5,000 in Manchester. Smaller towns saw rallies of several hundreds.

Marched

On the second day 300,000 people from all over Britain marched in central London. It was the biggest weekday demonstration Britain had ever seen. School students walked out to march alongside delegations of post workers, Tube workers, firefighters, health workers, council workers and more.

One student from Fortismere School in north London said, “We've been wanting to send a message to George Bush for some time.

“We're not here to bunk off. We're standing up for what we believe in.”

Thousands-strong feeder marches from different London universities joined the march too. Over 1,000 students from London School of Economics (LSE) burst through police lines to join the demo.

People leaving work that evening swelled the ranks of thousands



already in Trafalgar Square. At the rally, protesters pulled down a giant statue of Bush. They mocked the stage-managed toppling of a statue of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein that was meant to symbolise US victory in Iraq.

It was picked up by the world's media but the most powerful symbol was the demonstration itself.

As Stop the War convenor Lindsey German told the rally, “We have confined Bush to house arrest in Buckingham Palace.

“That's the power of the movement. The streets of London are ours, not George Bush's.”

ALL THESE huge protests cast a large shadow over—if not completely ruined—Bush's visit. He was only the second US president ever to be invited on a full state visit—a pompous ceremonial affair seen as prestigious by those at the top.

For Labour prime minister Tony Blair the invite was a way of sucking up even closer to Bush after backing his occupation of Iraq. As for Bush, he hoped the prestige and honour of the state visit would help his image in the US.

But this wasn't to be. There was still huge anger in Britain over the invasion of Iraq, which quickly turned out to be a disaster.

Aside from the famous two million-strong demonstration in London in February, before the war started, hundreds of thousands of people kept protesting after the invasion.

And preparations for Bush's visit gave new life to Stop the War groups across Britain.

Everywhere rallies and public meetings brought hundreds on board. A meeting of 600 people at the LSE, spilling out onto the street outside, was an early sign of what was to come.

Effigies

There were “Bush bonfire nights” on 5 November, where effigies of Bush were set alight. School students promised walkouts and trade unionists signed up their workmates.

One trade unionist in Manchester said at the time, “I left a copy of the petition on my desk at work. When I came back five minutes later, it had been passed round and filled in.”

Activists found themselves “mobbed” by people queuing up to sign petitions against Bush's visit wherever they set up street stalls. “People didn't just want to sign,” said one. “They wanted copies to take away and use with their friends and workmates.”

The cops and the spooks began to get jittery as the protests built up a head of steam.

The Metropolitan Police cancelled all leave for coppers during the visit for a policing operation that cost £7 million. That was on top of hundreds of armed US security forces put on the streets at the demand of the White House.

The US also wanted the protesters



1973

London docker defies brutal dictator

WHEN PORTUGUESE dictator Marcelo Caetano visited Britain in 1973, he was met with angry protests wherever he went.

Police had to hold back demonstrators outside Downing Street when Caetano met the prime minister. The idea of the visit was to set up trade deals and get support for his colonial wars in Angola and Mozambique.

Yet the day before he arrived about 10,000 people marched on Downing Street against the visit.

The Portuguese government tried to pay skint students to hand out leaflets supporting Caetano.

But trade unionist and docker Tom Delaney struck a deal with the students—he would get their wages doubled if they refused to deliver the leaflets.

Amazingly, he succeeded. Employment agency Alfred Marks, embarrassed by the publicity, quickly agreed to pay the higher wages. The students collected their pay, then chucked the leaflets in the bin.

The protests in Britain fed into a growing revolt against Caetano across the world. A year later, a revolution ended his regime.

A mass march on Downing Street opposed Marcelo Caetano

kept as far from central London—and Bush—as possible.

But the march was set to be so big the cops had to agree to a rally in Trafalgar Square, right in between Buckingham Palace and Downing Street where Bush's cavalcade was to pass.

The protest meant his speech to parliament had to be relocated.

Anxious

An even bigger blow to Bush was cancelling the parade from Buckingham Palace in a horse-drawn carriage with the queen.

A palace official said this was because “Downing Street, anxious about possible anti-war protests from the start, has now decided to pull the plug on it.

“We are liaising with the White House and they have made no attempt to hide their disappointment. They saw it, obviously, as a great photo opportunity.”

Even on the final day, when Bush was flown to prime minister Tony Blair's constituency in the small Durham town of Sedgfield, around 1,000 people protested on the village

green. Students from Sedgfield Community College, where Bush visited, were sent home for wearing anti-Bush badges.

It meant that instead of the headlines he hoped for, coverage was dominated by the massive protests that greeted him.

Even the right wing US Fox News network admitted the protests had “support from a large section of the British public, feeding on widespread discontent with the war and its aftermath, and low regard for the president”.

WHAT'S MORE, the protests fed into anger against Blair's right wing Labour government. Blair wasn't just facing a revolt against the war.

Students protested over tuition fees and there were militant strikes in the post, fire brigade and civil service. Many of those on the protests were angry Labour Party members.

Barry Chambers who joined the protest in Blair's own constituency, was the chair of nearby Blackhall Labour Party. He said, “Bush and Blair are the enemies of democracy. I am very disillusioned with the Labour Party. When New Labour finally comes to an end we'll see these last few years as wasted.”

Legacy

But most importantly it showed that our rulers don't always have the whip hand. The anti-war movement had a lasting legacy and inhibited our rulers' ability to gain support for future wars.

And the significant numbers of Muslims active and helping to lead the movement gave the lie to politicians' myth that people in Britain are inherently racist and incapable of cooperating together.

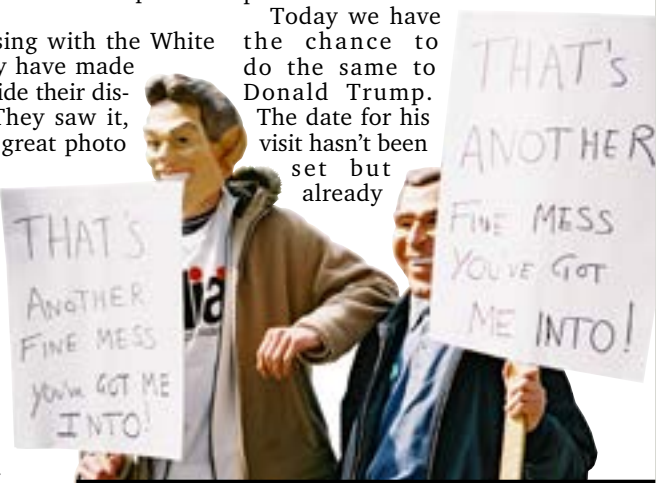
Bush's state visit should have been his chance to parade his victory. Massive opposition hadn't stopped his war, and he had overthrown the Iraqi regime.

Yet instead of swaggering triumphantly about London, he scuttled from one ceremony to another behind lines of thousands of police.

Months after the invasion, he still had to use his speech to MPs to defend launching the war in the first place.

Today we have the chance to do the same to Donald Trump.

The date for his visit hasn't been set but already



Blair never lived down his support for Bush

1850

Cops rescue the hated general Haynau by river from an angry mob

General can't organise visit to a brewery

AUSTRO Hungarian general Haynau was known for brutally putting down revolutions in Italy and Hungary in 1848-9.

Yet on a visit to a London brewery in 1850 he had to flee from workers who chased him with stones and brooms shouting “down with the Austrian butcher”.

Haynau is said to have hid in a coal cellar before being rescued by police.

Workers attacked him with brooms and stones

“

Instead of swaggering triumphantly he scuttled behind lines of police

there's talk of moving his visit to Birmingham to escape mass protests.

Just as Blair was eventually finished off by anger at the Iraq war, we can use protests at Trump to cause a crisis for Theresa May.

And just as Blair tried to suck up to Bush, May wants to tie herself to Trump. But a mass revolt against Trump could be the end for her too.

There's more online
The movement was right about Iraq
socialistworker.co.uk/art/43007/A

1963

Theatre trip turns tragic for pro-Nazi Greek king

IN 1963, a visit by king Paul and queen Frederika of Greece was met with riots.

The pair were hate figures—sympathetic to the Nazis—and their own right wing government had locked up thousands of political prisoners.

As the Greek king

and queen dined in Buckingham Palace, thousands of demonstrators clashed with police along the road in Trafalgar Square.

The two couldn't even manage a trip to the theatre without being confronted.

The Foreign Office was forced to buy every single ticket to a play just to make sure the royal family could visit safely and undisturbed.

And even then thousands of people

gathered outside the theatre to boo them, and clashed with police again.

The Greek royals arrive in Westminster



School students walked out to march alongside workers

WHAT WE STAND FOR

These are the core politics of the Socialist Workers Party.

INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION

Under capitalism workers' labour creates all profit. A socialist society can only be constructed when the working class seizes control of the means of production and democratically plans how they are used.

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

The present system cannot be patched up or reformed as the established Labour and trade union leaders say.

It has to be overthrown. Capitalism systematically degrades the natural world. Ending environmental crisis means creating a new society.

THERE IS NO PARLIAMENTARY ROAD

The structures of the present parliament, army, police and judiciary cannot be taken over and used by the working class. They grew up under capitalism and are designed to protect the ruling class against the workers.

The working class needs an entirely different kind of state—a workers' state based upon councils of workers' delegates and a workers' militia.

At most parliamentary activity can be used to make propaganda against the present system.

Only the mass action of the workers themselves can destroy the system.

INTERNATIONALISM

The struggle for socialism is part of a worldwide struggle. We campaign for solidarity with workers in other countries.

We oppose everything which turns workers from one country against those from other countries.

We oppose racism and imperialism. We oppose all immigration controls.

We support the right of black people and other oppressed groups to organise their own defence. We support all genuine national liberation movements.

The experience of Russia demonstrates that a socialist revolution cannot survive in isolation in one country.

In Russia the result was state capitalism, not socialism. In Eastern Europe and China a similar system was later established by Stalinist parties. We support the struggle of workers in these countries against both private and state capitalism.

We are for real social, economic and political equality of women. We are for an end to all forms of discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people.

We defend the right of believers to practise their religion without state interference.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To achieve socialism the most militant sections of the working class have to be organised into a revolutionary socialist party.

Such a party can only be built by activity in the mass organisations of the working class.

We have to prove in practice to other workers that reformist leaders and reformist ideas are opposed to their own interests. We have to build a rank and file movement within the unions.

To join us, turn to page 16 or go to www.swp.org.uk or phone 020 7840 5602 for more information

{ SOCIALIST WORKER }
BRANCH MEETINGS

Weekly meetings to discuss political issues and our local interventions. All welcome.

BARNSELEY

Abortion rights 50 years on—defending a woman's right to choose

Thu 9 Mar, 7pm, YMCA, Blucher St, S70 1AP

BIRMINGHAM: CITY CENTRE

Fascism on the rise in Europe—lessons from the 1930s

Wed 1 Mar, 7pm, Birmingham LGBT Centre, 38/40 Holloway Circus, B1 1EQ

BOLTON

Fascism in the US? Who are the alt-right?

Thu 2 Mar, 7pm, Bolton Socialist Club, 16 Wood St (off Bradshawgate), BL1 1DY

BRADFORD

1917—when workers took power in Russia

Thu 2 Mar, 7pm, Glyde House, Little Horton Lane (opposite the ice rink), BD5 0BQ

BRIGHTON

Women and the Russian Revolution

Thu 2 Mar, 7.30pm, Friends Meeting House, Ship St, BN1 1AF

BRISTOL

Abortion rights 50 years on—defending a woman's right to choose

Wed 1 Mar, 7.30pm, YHA, 14 Narrow Quay, BS1 4QA

BURNLEY

Are we seeing the 1930s in slow motion?

Wed 1 Mar, 7.30pm, Red Triangle Cafe, 160 St James's St, BB11 1NR

CAMBRIDGE

Should socialists support the single market?

Thu 2 Mar, 7.30pm, River Lane Centre, River Lane, CB5 8HP

COVENTRY

Abortion rights 50 years on—defending a woman's right to choose

Wed 1 Mar, 7.30pm, West Indian Centre, 159 Spon St, CV1 3BB

DERBY

International Women's Day—the event that sparked the Russian Revolution

Thu 9 Mar, 7pm, West End Community Centre, Mackworth Rd (next to Britannia Mill), DE22 3BL

DUNDEE

Trotsky on fascism

Wed 1 Mar, 7.30pm, Dundee Voluntary Action, 10 Constitution Rd, DD1 1LL

SOCIALIST WORKER PUBLIC MEETINGS

Russia 1917—workers' revolution and the festival of the oppressed



Women workers were at the vanguard of the Russian Revolution

BIRMINGHAM

Thu 9 Mar, 7pm, The Priory Rooms, Quaker Meeting House, 40 Bull St, B4 6AF

BRISTOL

Mon 6 Mar, 7.30pm, YHA, 14 Narrow Quay, BS1 4QA

CARDIFF

Wed 8 Mar, 7.30pm, New York Diner, CF24 3BQ

GLASGOW

Thu 9 Mar, 7pm, Avant Garde, 33-44 King St, Merchant City, G1 5QT

LEEDS

Sat 25 Mar, 7pm, The Swarthmore Education Centre, 2-7 Woodhouse Square, LS3 1AD

LONDON

Wed 8 Mar, 7pm, Student Central, Malet St, WC1E 7HY

MANCHESTER

Sat 25 Mar, 7pm, Mechanics Institute, 103 Princess St, M1 6DD

OXFORD

Thu 9 Mar, 7.30pm, Restore, Manzil Way, OX4 1YH

SHEFFIELD

Thu 2 Mar, 7pm, Central United Reformed Church, 60 Norfolk St (near Crucible Theatre), S1 2JB

YORK

Wed 1 Mar, 7.30pm, Priory Street Community Centre, 15 Priory St, YO1 6ET

EDINBURGH

Fascism—what is it and how do we fight it?

Wed 1 Mar, 7.30pm, Friends Meeting House, 7 Victoria St, EH1 2JL

ESSEX

Corbyn and Labour today—can socialism come through parliament?

Thu 2 Mar, 7.30pm, Friends Meeting House, Rainsford Rd, CM1 2QL

GLASGOW

Why we need a revolutionary paper

Thu 2 Mar, 7pm, Avant Garde, 33-44 King St, Merchant City, G1 5QT

HUDDERSFIELD

100 years on—how world war and austerity led to workers' revolution in Russia

Wed 1 Mar, 6.30pm, Brian Jackson House, 2 New North Parade (near both train and bus stations), HD1 5JP

LANCASTER

US labour in the 1930s—when workers fought back

Thu 2 Mar, 7pm, Friends Meeting House, Meeting House Lane, LA1 1TX

LEEDS: CITY CENTRE

Brexit—what do socialists say?

Thu 2 Mar, 7pm, The Swarthmore Education Centre, 2-7 Woodhouse Square, LS3 1AD

LIVERPOOL

Fake news and alternative facts—media in the 21st century

Thu 9 Mar, 7.30pm, The Saledonia, 22 Caledonia St, L7 7DX

LONDON: BRENT AND HARROW

Fake news and alternative facts—media in the 21st century

Thu 2 Mar, 7.30pm, The Pepperpot Centre, 1a Thorpe Close, Ladbroke Grove (very close to the station), W10 5XL

LONDON: CENTRAL

Abortion rights 50 years on—defending a woman's right to choose

Thu 2 Mar, 6.30pm, Room 130, UCL, Foster Court Building, WC1E 6BT

LONDON: EALING

Bad medicine—how profit wrecks healthcare

Thu 2 Mar, 7.30pm, Y Lounge, YMCA West London, 25 St Mary's Rd, W5 2RE

LONDON: HARINGEY

Fighting Islamophobia and the Prevent agenda

Wed 1 Mar, 7.30pm, St John Vianney Church Hall, 386 West Green Rd (corner Vincent Rd), N15 3QH

LONDON: ISLINGTON

Populism and fascism—how do we fight the rise of the right?

Thu 2 Mar, 7pm, The Old Fire Station, 84 Mayton St, N7 6QT

LONDON: LEWISHAM

The origins of LGBT+ oppression and the fight for liberation

Wed 1 Mar, 7.30pm, West Greenwich Community and Arts Centre, 141 Greenwich High Rd (near Greenwich station), SE10 8JA

LONDON: WALTHAM FOREST

Open the borders—challenging immigration controls

Wed 1 Mar, 7.30pm, Quaker Meeting House, 1a Jewel Rd (off Hoe St), E17 4QU

MANCHESTER: CHORLTON

Socialist strategy and tactics—the politics of the united front

Wed 1 Mar, 7pm, Chorlton Central Church (Meeting Room), Barlow Moor Rd, M21 8BF

MANCHESTER: CITY CENTRE

Women and the Russian Revolution

Thu 9 Mar, 7pm, Friends Meeting House, 6 Mount St, M2 5NS

MEDWAY

Women and the Russian Revolution

Thu 2 Mar, 7.30pm, Riverside Creative Hub, Conference Room, 13 Military Rd, ME4 4JG

NEWCASTLE

Abortion rights 50 years on—defending a woman's right to choose

Thu 2 Mar, 7pm, Broadacre House, Market St, NE1 6HQ

NORWICH

Fascists in the US? Who are the alt-right?

Thu 2 Mar, 7.30pm, Vauxhall Centre, Johnson Place, NR2 2SA

OXFORD

The origins of LGBT+ oppression and the fight for liberation

Wed 1 Mar, 7.30pm, Restore, Manzil Way (off Cowley Rd), OX4 1YH

PORTSMOUTH

Where did the 1917 October revolution come from?

Wed 1 Mar, 7.30pm, Somerstown Community Centre, River's St, PO5 4EZ

SOUTHAMPTON

100 years on—how world war and austerity led to workers' revolution in Russia

Wed 1 Mar, 7.30pm, Central Baptist Church Hall, Devonshire Rd, SO15 2GY

SWANSEA

Abortion rights 50 years on—defending a woman's right to choose

Thu 2 Mar, 7.30pm, Brynmill Community Centre, St Albans Rd, SA2 0BP

WOLVERHAMPTON

And Walsall: Fighting racism and Ukip

Wed 1 Mar, 7.30pm, Wild Bytes Cafe, Darlington St, WV1 4HW

{ MOVEMENT EVENTS }

CARDIFF

Stand Up To Racism organising meeting

Wed 1 Mar, 7.30pm, Cathays Community Centre, Cathays Terrace, CF24 4HX

BRADFORD

Refugees and migrants welcome—stand up to racism, Islamophobia and antisemitism

Tue 21 Mar, 6.30pm, Bowling Old Lane Cricket Club, BD5 8BH

DORCHESTER

100 years on from the Russian Revolution—what does it mean for us today?

Sat 11 Mar, 1.30pm, Colliton Club, Colliton Park, DT1 1XJ. Organised by Dorset Socialists

CONTACT THE SWP

Phone 020 7840 5600

Email

enquires@swp.org.uk
Post PO Box 71327, London SE11 9BW

STAND UP TO RACISM RALLIES

Refugees and migrants welcome—stand up to racism, Islamophobia and antisemitism

Mobilising events for national demonstrations on Saturday 18 March in London, Glasgow and Cardiff. Go to standuptoracism.org.uk for more information about the demonstrations and how to get involved

LONDON: HACKNEY

Thu 2 March, 7.30pm, Old School Rooms, The Round Chapel, 2 Powerscroft Rd, E5 0PU

LONDON: HARINGEY

Tue 28 Feb, 7.30pm, Kurdish Community Centre, 11 Portland Gardens, N4 1HU

LONDON: TOWER HAMLETS

Wed 1 Mar, 6.45pm, 1 Merchant St, E3 4LY

MANCHESTER

Thu 2 Mar, 7pm, Mechanics Institute, 103 Princess St, M1 6DD

NOTTINGHAM

Wed 1 Mar, 7pm, Nonsuch Theatre, N SPACE, 32a Clarendon St, NG1 5JD

If you don't know Hockney here is your chance to start

Tate Britain's huge retrospective on David Hockney that's just opened shows the artist's great skill of reaching out to people using art, writes **Alan Kenny**

TATE BRITAIN is hosting "the world's most extensive retrospective" of artist **David Hockney's** work—that should be a tantalising prospect for those familiar with him.

It is also a fantastic opportunity for those who have never seen a Hockney painting.

The Royal Academy's 2015 exhibition *A Bigger Picture* was a tremendous display of Hockney's recent landscapes.

But this exhibition shows a much fuller variety of the work he has created across his 60-year career.

The second room in the exhibition, *Demonstrations of Versatility*, shows some very interesting early paintings from 1960-61.

Two of them, *We Two Boys Together Clinging* and *Cleaning Teeth, Early Evening* (10pm) W11, are particularly worth seeing. They depict gay male relationships five and six years before homosexuality was decriminalised in Britain.

Splash

The style of these paintings seems to prefigure Jean Michel Basquiat's work of some 20 years later.

In room four the *Sunbather* displays are perhaps some of Hockney's most well-known pieces—1967's *A Bigger Splash* and 1966's *Peter Getting Out of Nick's Pool*.

Peter Schlesinger was Hockney's one-time partner and features in several other paintings and drawings.

It's clear that it is in this period that Hockney truly develops his exciting colour palette. This was inspired by his love for the Los Angeles scenery, where he first moved in 1964.

His wonderful large dual portraits are also on show. They include one of novelist Christopher Isherwood and his partner Don Bachardy that's



PORTRAIT OF an Artist (Pool with Two Figures) 1971, by David Hockney

never been on display in Britain. One of Hockney's great skills is to create an intense dynamic between the two subjects in each of these paintings.

Experimentation with form and technology is seen in his early 1980's Polaroid composites—*The Scrabble Game* is particularly endearing.

There's a room of Hockney's brilliantly coloured landscapes in California and Yorkshire, all painted with his remarkable vibrancy.

Rooms 10 and 11 are a welcome reprieve of the *A Bigger Picture* exhibition, including the hypnotic *The Four Seasons* films.

The exhibition closes with a selection of his iPad drawings. These are probably his most divisive pictures, but it's hard not to admire his attempt to engage with new technology.

These drawings also allow us the opportunity to appreciate Hockney's dedication alongside his great technical skill.

Several of the screens show layer upon layer of different types of mark gradually building up. Through showing the technique we are given a glimpse of the many hours of work put into the paintings.

Hockney is so capable of reaching

out to people with art. It was therefore disappointing that he took up the offer of redesigning the masthead of the *Sun* newspaper.

Groups such as the *Total Eclipse of the Sun*, which campaigns against the bigoted rag, need to reach out to artists in every field to extend their campaign.

This exhibition will be a smash hit. Hockney seems to be only growing in popularity—and it's deserved.

David Hockney is at Tate Britain until 27 May, go to tate.org.uk and support the union at Tate at bit.ly/216EWdN

Certain Women promises us more than it provides

FILM

CERTAIN WOMEN

Written and directed by Kelly Reichardt
In cinemas 3 March

CERTAIN WOMEN features three women whose stories very slightly intertwine in a small US town.

Unfortunately, there's no real resolution to any of the stories and very little happens to hold your interest.

It's great that women are the leading characters.

But I had hoped for a stronger message about sexism—as the publicity suggests—so it left me slightly disappointed.

It's also frustrating that the most interesting story in the film was that of a male character.

This part is supposed to be more about his female lawyer, but his story was more intriguing than hers.

He also gets the best monologue in the film, raising important questions about how society deals with mental



Kristen Stewart in *Certain Women*

health.

Despite some fantastic individual performances, and great cinematography, I came away not really sure what I was supposed to get out of it.

The main message seemed to be that sometimes women go through hard times and that's just life.

It would be much better to come away from a film feeling empowered, rather than the disappointment of *Certain Women*.

Jasmine Francis

EXHIBITION

THE PLACE IS HERE

Nottingham Contemporary
Until 27 April. Go to nottinghamcontemporary.org

THIS EXHIBITION has lots of great video footage. This includes the pivotal Notting Hill Carnival of 1976, material about Trinidadian Marxist CLR James, the 1981 Brixton riots and the Civil Rights movement.

It even has a life-sized moving projection based on William Hogarth's satirical 18th century *Marriage A-la-Mode*. It includes Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan—the two figures who epitomised the harsh politics of the 1980s.

Nottingham was an important centre for many of the issues raised in this exhibition and it led to the founding of its New Art Exchange gallery.

Go and see this exhibition if you can.

Richard Buckwell

COMEDY

DR PHIL'S HEALTH REVOLUTION

On tour until 23 March
drphilhammond.com

DR PHIL—NHS doctor, BBC broadcaster, *Private Eye* journalist and whistle-blowing comic—combines his 2016 sell-out Edinburgh fringe shows in this tour.

He promotes support for the 4 March NHS demo and gets the audience to chant the best NHS slogans.

He has also welcomed local Keep Our NHS Public campaigners leafleting his sold-out events.

So, Maidenhead and Hemel Hempstead, here's your chance.

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Bestsellers at Bookmarks, the socialist Bookshop

- Sexism and the system**
Judith Orr
- Syria: Revolution, counter-revolution and war**
Anne Alexander and Jad Bouharoun
- A rebel's guide to Marx**
Mike Gonzales
- Raising expectations (and raising hell)**
Jane McAlevey
- Reform or Revolution and the Mass Strike**
Rosa Luxemburg

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Why not visit the shop at 1 Bloomsbury Street, London WC1B 3QE

RACISM is alive and kicking in Britain. Two incidents showed that last week.

The vicious racist attacks on shadow home secretary Diane Abbott from the press and politicians have been disgraceful.

And they have given the green light to the most vicious racists on the fringes of society to launch an online campaign of abuse.

“I receive racist and sexist abuse online on a daily basis,” said Abbott. “I have had rape threats, death threats, and am referred to routinely as a bitch and/or nigger.”

The second incident was the police invasion of grime artist Stormzy’s home.

Cops received a call after someone saw him entering his flat in the posh Chelsea area of London.

Presumably a neighbour saw a black man entering and assumed it was a robbery.

Both of these examples explode the myth that we live in a “post-racial” society. They also show that racism and oppression are experienced across classes.

No matter how rich or successful you are as a black person, you cannot escape the all-pervasive racism that infests British society.

When the Black Lives Matter movement exploded onto the streets of Britain last summer old questions about how to organise to defeat racism re-emerged.

Do all black people suffer racism in the same way? The other side of that question is, do all white people benefit from racism?

Abbott and Stormzy’s treatment show that all black people can be the victims of racism, no matter how successful.

But the answer is not to argue for more black people in high places, or for more black owned businesses.

That doesn’t challenge where racism comes from—capitalism.

Psychological

The Marxist WEB DuBois argued that white workers in the Jim Crow South felt they had a “psychological wage”—they felt as if they benefited from racism.

But studies have shown that where racist division exists between workers, both white and black workers’ wages are lower.

In other words, there may be a perceived benefit for white workers, but not a material one.

So it is in the interests of white and black workers to unite for immediate economic demands.

But it is also in our interests to unite to bring down a system which pushes racism on us in the most brutal way to better exploit us.

From its inception, capitalism



THE BLACK Lives matter movement exploded last summer, raising questions about how to defeat racism

PICTURE: GUY SMALLMAN

IT’S RACIST FROM TOP TO BOTTOM

Attacks on MP Diane Abbott and a police raid at grime artist Stormzy’s flat show all black people face racism. But the roots of racism still lie in class society, argues Gary McFarlane

has sought ways to divide the people whom the ruling class exploit for their profits, the working class. Biological racism was developed first as a means to legitimise the transatlantic slave trade.

But at the same time, racism was used to drive a wedge between the Irish and English working class living in Britain.

Karl Marx laid the basis for a Marxist understanding of both of these aspects of racism. Firstly, “Labour in the white

skin can never free itself as long as labour in the black skin is branded.”

Secondly he said of the division between Irish and English workers that “this antagonism is the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite its organisation.

“It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power. And that class is fully aware of it.” Unity across the working class is therefore essential in the fight against racism.

But socialists must also be forthright within this struggle and put forward the argument that racism is intrinsically linked to capitalism.

Diane Abbott said in a Guardian newspaper article last week that she had to fight against racism and sexism to get into parliament.

She also said that, if she had known in 1987 about the racist abuse she would go on to receive, “I think that even the young, fearless Diane Abbott might have paused for thought.”

She was elected the first black woman MP in 1987 alongside four other black MPs.

Their victory came against the backdrop of the black and Asian youth movements of the 1970s that pushed back the racism which fuelled the growth of the Nazi National Front. But her success hasn’t shielded her from racism—far from it.

One disgusting Tory councillor even tweeted an image of a gorilla wearing lipstick in reference to Abbott, suggesting that she is less than human.

Racism is fluid, and can take different forms at different times and in different places. But “scientific” racism lurks in the background of new forms and feeds into them.

And interventions such as those of Trevor Phillips, chairperson of the Equality and Human Rights Commission between 2003 and 2012, bridge the gap between old and new.

Phillips claims that the “values and behaviours” of specific groups—Muslims—mean they can’t integrate.

Mythical

This is the new form racism takes—differences in “culture” mean that certain groups are incompatible with a mythical “Britishness”.

Phillips’ “analysis” rests on the idea that certain groups of people are fundamentally incapable of “integrating”.

This analysis appeals to the hard racist core of the Tory party membership. These are also the dregs that Tory Brexit minister David Davis appeals to.

Texts were leaked last weekend in which he claimed that he wouldn’t sexually assault Abbott because he’s “not blind.” So Davis thinks sexual assault is acceptable, but only if he deems the individual to be attractive.

As you would expect, Diane Abbott hasn’t simply put up with these attacks—she has fought back.

Her staff have reported attacks to the police. But no action has been taken to date.

If the shadow home secretary can’t get the cops to make an example of some of the haters, what hope for the rest of us?

The police don’t take racist attacks seriously and have covered up investigations time and again.

And fame and wealth are no protections from their racism

as Stormzy, real name Michael Omari, found out when cops broke into his flat last week.

“Woke up to Feds destroying my front door coz apparently I’m a burglar who burgles his own home” he tweeted.

Stormzy doesn’t go for the idea that racism stops at the US border. It’s been a central way of dividing the British working class since the mid nineteenth century.

“Don’t be the stupid idiot who thinks because we live in the UK that black people don’t experience racism from the police, don’t be so flipping naive,” he said.

“We have black brothers and sisters dying in the States and we’d be cowards to just brush it off, this is all of our problems. That could easily be me or my little brother or my sisters.”

THE POLICE in Britain have a long and brutal history of racism, corruption and killing.

The Metropolitan Police were branded “institutionally racist” for blocking the inquiries of Stephen Lawrence’s grieving family after he was murdered by a racist gang in south east London.

They covered up their reluctance to investigate the murder because the father of David Norris, one of the killers, was a police informant.

Police killed Cherry Groce in her Tottenham flat in 1985, which sparked riots.

Bernie Grant, then leader of Haringey council, blasted the cops. “The youths around here believe the police were to blame for what happened on Sunday and what they got was a bloody good hiding,” Grant said.

He had his name dragged through the mud by politicians and the media for his stand. But people in Tottenham respected him for speaking out and voted him into parliament in 1987 alongside Diane Abbott.

Grant’s response stands in stark contrast to that of his successor, David Lammy, after the 2011 riots sparked by the police killing of Mark Duggan in Tottenham.

He parroted the same line as Trevor Phillips—that too many years of soft Labour liberalism had led to “mindless” looting.

“Many of my constituents came up to me after the riots and blamed the Labour government, saying, ‘You guys stopped us being able to smack our

children””, he said.

That gave the green light for the brutal police response to the riots. Children were given custodial sentences for taking bottled water.

The law courts were packed in an unprecedented show of the punitive might of the state. Unfortunately, Diane Abbott’s response was little better than Lammy’s. “You are trashing your own communities,” she said to the rioters.

We can’t look to people in positions of power to carry the anti-racist struggle forward. It is a fight for the whole working class.

Just as racism will never be defeated as long as capitalist exploitation exists, the fight to bring down capitalism will never be successful if it does not tackle racism head on.

READ MORE

● **Say it Loud! Marxism and the fight against racism**

Edited by Brian Richardson £9.99

● **Marxism and oppression—do we say ‘class first, race later’?**

Socialist Worker article online at bit.ly/2lqHeVx

● **Racism: Myths and realities**

Article by Hassan Mahamdallie online at bit.ly/2kx3cXe

Available at Bookmarks, the socialist bookshop. Phone 020 7637 1848 or go to bookmarksbookshop.co.uk



Was the Russian Revolution completely spontaneous?

Workers and soldiers spontaneously rose up against the Tsar many times—but it took organisation to carry this through to victory



TOPPLING THE despotic Tsar was one thing—but what would take his place?

1917 TIMELINE

22 February (6 March in the modern 'New Style' calendar)

● The Tsar leaves for the General Headquarters in Mogilev. Meanwhile, the bosses of the Putilov Plant lockout striking workers

● The February revolution begins on 23 February, after women textile workers initiate a massive strike in the capital Petrograd

the same time without organisation would have been an astonishing coincidence.

To keep the fight up for five days in the face of opposition from the state, the media and virtually all the political parties would have been even more of a feat.

Workers and soldiers weren’t just a formless mass. In each workplace or garrison they were shaped by experiences, collective discussions and leaders.

The workers had learned from waves of strikes, betrayals by liberal reformers and crucially, the 1905 revolution that was crushed by the army.

The soldiers knew enough to blame their suffering on their own rulers, and to reach out to workers as their allies.

Organised revolutionaries and their publications had shaped these debates.

Trotsky concluded that “conscious and tempered workers educated for the most part by the party” had “led the revolution”.

But despite beating the Tsar,

workers and soldiers weren’t in a position to stop supporters of capitalism and war from stealing the revolution.

Getting it back would take much sharper debates—and a much greater degree of organisation.

The “conscious and tempered workers” poured into the Bolsheviks, and this made all the difference.

To defeat the Tsar was possible with an uprising in the capital alone. To beat the whole Russian state would take an uprising across Russia.

The Bolsheviks’ influence helped stop workers in the capital going too early, or those elsewhere going too late.

And a degree of secrecy was necessary in organising the storming of the state’s headquarters. If this had been left to “spontaneity”, it may not have happened at all.

Crucially, the party ensured that the argument against going backwards was won among workers, despite the best efforts of the generals, bosses and reformist socialists.

This made the Russian Revolution’s outcome very different to other revolutions before and since.

Trotsky concluded, “Without a guiding organisation, the energy of the masses would dissipate like steam not enclosed in a piston-box. But nevertheless what moves things is not the piston or the box, but the steam.”

This is part of a series of weekly articles on the Russian Revolution. Read more of our coverage at tinyurl.com/sw1917

Thousands march to say ‘refugees welcome’

by DAVID KARVALA in Barcelona

UP TO 300,000 people marched in Barcelona last Saturday demanding the Spanish state welcome more refugees.

The demonstration was enormous and drew in people from all walks of life.

Black and Muslim activists from Unite Against Fascism and Racism in Catalonia (UCFR) were among those holding the main banner at the front.

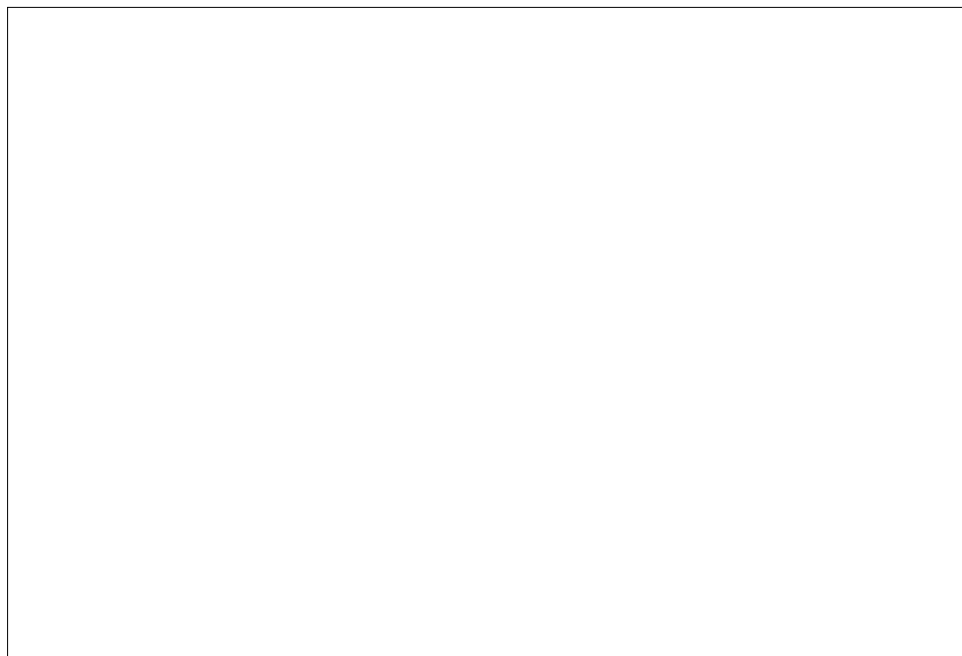
The street vendors in the city, mostly from Senegal, Gambia and other African countries, have recently formed a union.

They joined the march as a block with a former Black Panther.

Repression

They are organising against repression from the city council. It heavily harassed them when it was run by the right and still does sometimes now it's run by the left.

Syrian refugees and left activists marched behind the banner of Tadamon—“solidarity” in Arabic. This



A MASSIVE protest in Barcelona showed solidarity with refugees

campaign opposes the Syrian dictatorship, its allies and bombing by the West.

The two largest movements for Catalan independence mobilised for the demonstration, with independence flags very visible on the march.

The campaign was called “Our home is your home” with the slogan “We want to give refuge”.

It was called by well-connected young media professionals returned from volunteering with refugees in the Greek islands.

And it was built through an extremely high-profile media campaign.

A concert the previous week was broadcast live on the main Catalan TV station, in support of the protest and refugees.

Top Catalan politicians

were in VIP boxes at the concert in support of the demonstration.

The TV station advertised the demo every day—on the news, in special reports, even the political satire programme had a sketch on it.

The Catalan government and all the pro-independence parties—including the centre right—also supported it and built for it.

Independence

This raises the obvious question, if you want to welcome refugees why don't you just let them in?

They say it's the Spanish state that won't let us, we can't do anything without independence.

But they are facing pressure over this.

The Spanish government has banned Catalonia from holding a referendum on independence, and the Catalan government vows to organise one anyway, one day.

The anti-capitalist CUP party campaigned for “no more excuses”. It says if we want independence we need to disobey Madrid now, not

just put it back to some distant future.

This mobilisation shows that people want to welcome refugees.

But the top-down nature of the campaign also brings some limitations.

It was run in a way that excluded broader anti-racist demands.

One of the main banners was set to say “No to the immigration law” but was changed to “Catalonia, land of welcome”.

Many marchers clearly hadn't engaged with anti-racist activity before.

It's fantastic that they were brought onto the streets, but it shows we need to keep building the fightback.

The UCFR was central to building some of the delegations to the demonstration.

This is feeding support for initiatives against Islamophobia and the far right.

For the ongoing battles against racism, we can't avoid those issues—we need to build a movement that can take them on.

David Karvala is an activist in UCFR and a member of Marx21.net

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Toxic hospital cuts plan is provoking local resistance

Some councils are refusing to sign up to the Tories' STP cuts plans. Tomáš Tengely-Evans argues that local health campaigns are showing how to challenge the attacks on our NHS

UNDER PLANS marked "strictly confidential—not for wider circulation" health bosses in west and north west London are plotting to decimate local services.

Their North West London Delivery Plan is part of the Sustainability and Transformation Plans (STPs).

These carve England into 44 "footprints" to help the Tories slash £22 billion from the NHS by 2020-21 under the guise of improving patient care (see right).

If the local plan is pushed through, patients and workers will be hit hard.

With Charing Cross and Ealing hospitals downgraded, there will be up to 600 fewer beds. Health workers are already overstretched, and another 7,753 jobs would be slashed.

Bosses want to cut general admissions by 50,000, outpatient appointments by 222,370 and A&E attendances by 64,175. Cutting the number of hospitals from nine to five is as the centre of the local STP.

The A&E departments at Central Middlesex and Hammersmith hospitals shut in 2014 under a plan called "Shaping a Healthier Future".

Document

NHS bosses know it's toxic, so the document hasn't even been shown to some leaders of local councils who have to sign up to the STPs.

That's why Tory health secretary Jeremy Hunt and NHS England are relying on bribery and lies to push through their assault.

Stephen Cowan, leader of Labour-run Hammersmith and Fulham council, told Socialist Worker how NHS England tried to force him to sign the STP without seeing it. He said, "We got into the meeting of all the north west London councils to sign on 27 June and I still hadn't seen it."



PROTESTERS IN London against cuts to the NHS and hospital closures

PICTURE: SOCIALIST WORKER

"They wanted us to sign that night but there was a two-page document there. It had sentences in it like, 'We recognise that if we do not sign the STP, we do not get any more money for adult social care'."

"When I asked to see the STP, they said, 'You don't need to see that, councillor, there's nothing in there you need to worry about.'"

When Cowan finally saw the STP later that week, it was a rehash of Shaping a Healthier Future that local people have resisted. Hammersmith

and Fulham and Ealing councils refused to sign up and now others have followed suit and refused to sign their STP.

"We've been saying to anyone who will listen, signing the STP is a betrayal of the NHS," said Cowan.

A strong local health campaign has pushed Labour councillors to fight back.

Some 500 people attended a meeting in Ealing Town Hall last Wednesday, one of many in recent years, helping mobilise thousands in

the streets too. As Eve Turner from the Ealing Save Our Hospitals campaign told Socialist Worker, "You're much more likely to get the council not to sign up to them if you've got a strong campaign."

"But we also go further than that and are against all cuts and privatisation in the NHS."

More online...

It's not migrants draining the NHS
socialistworker.co.uk/art/44095/T

Tories are gutting the service, not improving care

THE TORIES claim that they're pushing through the Sustainability and Transformation Plans (STPs) for clinical not financial reasons.

They argue that "centralising" services in large clinical hubs will improve patient care.

While it's true that some procedures, such as heart operations, are better done in large hubs, the Tories' plan is for wholesale cuts.

It is part of breaking

up the NHS and opening it up to privatisation.

Stephen Cowan said, "One idea behind Charing Cross Hospital is that they would sell off all but 13 percent of the site."

Julian Bell, leader of Ealing council, added, "The STP is very clear about the financial metrics."

"It says Ealing hospital is costing too much and creating a deficit therefore it has to close."

Bosses argue that

Ealing council leader Julian Bell

these hospitals won't really be closing.

But once the A&E goes, so does the consultant-led care, the beds, and other services.

It means gutting the service and is a stepping stone to full closure.

This will force people to travel longer distances for care.

Cowan said, "I was talking to one patient who's pregnant. With the services closed at Charing Cross, she has to travel on three buses to get to Northwick Park Hospital for prenatal care."

STPs also shift the burden from hospitals onto "primary care"

—care that's provided within the community.

There is nothing wrong with providing people with care at home.

But local authorities' social care budgets have already been slashed.

The reported problems of delayed discharges from hospitals are often because there isn't the required social care available.

The STPs will only make this worse.

NHS crisis pushed to the edge

HEALTH bosses spent over a billion pounds plugging NHS deficits in 2015-16 with money allocated for long-term plans.

A £2.1 billion fund was set up for the Sustainability and Transformation Plans (STPs) process. But £1.8 billion was spent plugging NHS deficits.

The Tories' latest assault comes on top of the deep crisis in health and social care services.

Storm

Social care for elderly people in England is facing "complete collapse" according to Age UK. Budget cuts and privatisation mean that over one million people can't get the care they need.

But local campaigns in opposition to the STPs are helping people feel more confident to resist the attacks.

Health campaigns Together are now building for the national demonstration in defence of the NHS on 4 March.

It is an opportunity to unite the local fights defending the NHS.

National demonstration for the NHS Sat 4 March 12 noon, Tavistock square, London WC1

Social care in England is facing complete collapse

IN BRIEF

Fascist EDL returns to Rotherham

ANTI-RACISTS IN Rotherham, South Yorkshire, will gather for a unity rally on Saturday to oppose a fascist English Defence League (EDL) march.

A series of protests by far right groups over two years have emboldened racists and encouraged violence against Muslims. Mushin Ahmed, an 81 year old Muslim man, was murdered in Rotherham in August 2015.

The EDL protest forced the cancellation of an event for LGBT history month, due to be held in the town hall.

●Join the Rotherham Unite Against Fascism rally, Saturday 25 February, 1pm, Minister Gardens next to All Saints Square, Rotherham

Tube strike over jobs displacement

TUBE DRIVERS on the Central line in the RMT and Aslef unions were set to walk out for 24 hours on Tuesday evening over what RMT called “cuts-led forced displacement of staff”.

Both RMT and the Aslef union also announced a ballot of Night Tube drivers over bosses preventing part time drivers applying for full time positions.

Teaching unions should get together

TEACHERS IN the NUT and ATL unions are set to vote on whether they back the unions merging.

The ballots begins on Monday of next week and both unions urge a Yes vote.

Socialist Worker supporters are building the Yes vote, arguing that a merger will create a stronger, more effective union.

Protest premieres in Leicester Square

AS PART of the fight for a Living Wage, workers at Picturehouse cinemas have called a protest in central London's Leicester Square this Saturday.

The demonstration has been timed to coincide with the Oscars ceremony.

It will draw attention to the disparity between cinema workers' pay and the vast profits of the Cineworld chain, which owns Picturehouse.

●Details at bit.ly/2kyYesS

Disabled people's demo defends care

DISABLED PEOPLE Against Cuts supporters protested in Southampton last Wednesday.

The council has drafted in contractor Capita to deal with a backlog of assessments for care packages.

Leaked emails suggest that Capita staff get financial incentives to reduce people's care packages. One person in five has had their care packages reduced but none have had an increase.

NHS

We bite back

A HOSPITAL porter who was sacked has won his job back following protests and a threat to strike by fellow workers in the GMB union.

Aldred Tomlinson has worked at King George Hospital in Ilford, east London, for 15 years. He was sacked two weeks ago after being accused of stealing a bacon and egg sandwich.

Aldred is employed by private contractor Sodexo.

Hundreds of workers at the hospital signed a petition demanding his reinstatement.

GMB organised a meeting to discuss strikes and plan a protest. This pressure forced Sodexo to reinstate Aldred.

Mark L Thomas

Aldred Tomlinson

HOUSING CAMPAIGNS

Council feeds homes to the private piranhas

by ALISTAIR FARROW

SOME 300 people marched in north London last week as a Labour council voted to push on with a £2 billion selloff of council housing.

Inside Haringey council's cabinet meeting on Tuesday of last week, councillors confirmed private property developers Lendlease as its preferred partner. The firm will take 50 percent ownership in the council's Haringey Development Vehicle (HDV).

That's like getting into the bath with a shoal of piranhas.

Lendlease was the firm responsible, along with Southwark council, for the demolition of the Heygate estate in south London.

Demolition

Only a tiny minority of people were allowed to move back to that estate after “regeneration”. Councillors promise that won't happen in Haringey.

Alan Strickland, lead councillor for housing said, “This is a completely different case from Southwark. This is a 50/50 joint venture, the council

can't be forced into anything.” But the council's own plan is one of the most worrying parts.

Councillors have disgracefully

talked about attracting “higher value” tenants to the borough in place of existing residents—to offset the Tories' funding cuts instead of fighting against them.

Concerns

Local Labour MPs Catherine West and David Lammy have written to the council with concerns but have not opposed the scheme. The council has not allowed residents to vote on its proposals.

Strickland rejected these objections, pointing to “an ongoing consultation”—though the council has received a legal challenge for not consulting residents. He admitted the

proposals were “risky”.

But it's not his house at risk of demolition. He won't be forced out of his home by the redevelopment.

Council leader Claire Kober claimed last month that people will be able to move back to their homes at the same rents. But in reality they have been given no guarantees.

Jacob, from the Broadwater Farm estate tenants' and residents' association told the rally outside the meeting, “We are outraged at the untruths that have been told about us.

“We want them to talk to us like human beings rather than brushing us off.”

STOCKWELL COMMUNITY CENTRE

Space invaders resisted

PROTESTERS gathered outside the Lambeth offices of the Hyde housing association on Thursday of last week.

The association is trying to shut down a community centre on one of the estates it manages in Stockwell, south London.

Hyde tenant Suzette told Socialist Worker, “There will be nothing left if they close the centre.”

The shortlist of firms competing to take over the centre's premises has not been made public.

The centre costs just £100,000 a year to run—less than half the £213,570 basic salary of Hyde chief executive Elane Bailey, before she tops it up with perks and benefits.

The firm wants to shut down nine community halls on its estates across London,



Standing up in Stockwell

privatising the places where ordinary people can host events. But that lack of respect for ordinary people's space is not surprising from Bailey.

Before taking on housing she worked for HM Prison Service and privatiser Serco whose contracts include prisons and detention centres.

●Go to Save the Stockwell Centre on Facebook

LOGISTICS

Anger stacks up at Arcadia

WORKERS AT the disgraced billionaire Sir Philip Green's warehouses in Solihull and Leeds were set to strike over low pay this Friday and Sunday.

They work for logistics giant DHL, supplying stores in Arcadia's retail empire, including Top Shop, Burton and Miss Selfridge.

The GMB union members,

currently on just £7.20 an hour, are demanding a Living Wage of £8.45 an hour.

Those at the Solihull warehouse held three solid 24-hour strikes last December. Management's pigheadedness has now led the GMB to pull out workers at the Leeds warehouse too.

●Send messages of solidarity to dominic.hinks@gmb.org.uk

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Will SNP satisfy strikers?

THE LEADER of the Scottish National Party (SNP) group of Glasgow councillors vowed to meet a key demand of workers if elected in May.

Susan Aitken promised to level up the conditions of workers at council-owned firms to those of directly employed council workers.

She made the pledge to more than 250 workers

during a hustings at the AGM of the Unison union branch.

Unison has fought several disputes over unequal conditions in the council's workforce. Workers must hold the SNP to its word if it ousts Labour in May.

The branch also gave its support to the anti-racism march in Glasgow on Saturday 18 March.

EDUCATION WORKERS

Teaching assistants keep up action against pay cuts

DERBY TEACHING assistants (TAs) struck on Monday and Tuesday and held a 24-hour vigil outside the city council. They have served notice for another five-day strike starting next Monday.

The Unison union members are fighting a 25 percent pay cut from the Labour-run authority.

Derby Unison branch secretary Nicole Berrisford said, “We're not going away, we're not giving up.”

Meanwhile TAs in Durham began a week-long series of protests outside the council's headquarters as frustration

builds at the slow pace of talks.

Unison officials suspended action last December after four days of strikes forced the council to suspend plans to sack and rehire the TAs.

Many TAs disagreed with suspending strikes and think talks are being dragged out until after council elections.

TA Kate was “keeping an open mind” but said the ongoing review of the roles of TAs showed that council bosses “hadn't a clue”.

TAs have called a national solidarity demo in Durham on Saturday 25 March.

UCU UNION ELECTION

Colleagues back McNeill

UCU LEFT candidates are getting a good response in the UCU union elections.

Jo McNeill is challenging incumbent Sally Hunt to become the union's general secretary. Many lecturers at the University of Liverpool, where Jo is UCU branch president, back her campaign.

David Whyte said Jo was key to a “crucial victory” against redundancies in 2014 and “would breathe much needed energy and life into the leadership of the UCU”.

Stefania Tufi said Jo “has been indefatigable in running the branch, and really galvanises members”.

Voting ends on 1 March.

UNISON WOMEN

Anger at 1% health pay cap

SOME 600 Unison members attended the union's national women's conference last week in Brighton.

General secretary Dave Prentis urged support for teaching assistants (see above) fighting Labour

councils attacking their pay.

A broad left challenge to Prentis' leadership in upcoming elections was well received.

Health members were angry at officials accepting a 1 percent pay cap until 2020.



On the protest

BRITISH AIRWAYS

Bosses' blackmail fails to weaken cabin crew strike

by DAVE SEWELL

BRITISH AIRWAYS (BA) cabin crew walked out for four days from last Friday—and were set to launch a new four-day strike on Wednesday.

The Unite union members, who work on BA's "mixed fleet", will have taken more than 20 strike days in their fight against poverty pay.

One Unite rep told Socialist Worker, "The strike keeps growing."

"We're having people join the union, or tell us it's the first time their roster has allowed them to properly take part in the strike."

Bluster

Bosses are responding with bluster and blackmail. The rep explained, "The company is taking away more bonuses, and they've stopped strikers' travel discount for two years."

So much of their pay package is made up of these "extras" that BA has now taken away from strikers, workers believe bosses may be breaking the minimum wage law.

But it hasn't deterred them.

The rep said, "They've now said that people who go back



WAVING THE flag of resistance outside Heathrow airport

PICTURE: SOCIALIST WORKER

to work will have all their staff travel discount restored because they're trying to bribe people back to work.

"But people are saying it sounds like desperation."

The mixed fleet crew's determination has had an impact.

As bosses farm more flights

out to other airlines during strikes, costs and passengers' resentment are growing.

The workers are right to go for longer strikes as it lets more people take part.

If workers are already on a flight when a walkout starts they can't join it.

But mixed fleet is a

relatively small part of BA's cabin crew. It is made up of workers hired since 2010 on much lower terms and conditions than other "legacy" fleets.

There is a lot of support for mixed fleet strikers among the other fleets.

Unite has set up a strike

food bank for workers with donations from other fleets.

But the best support would be to take action themselves.

Unite should seek to initiate a wider dispute. One fleet alone has hit bosses hard—together they could win.

●To donate or send messages of support go to bit.ly/2iAp2Ea

CONSTRUCTION

Bonus deal on Crossrail

BUILDING BOSSES Balfour Beatty have agreed to pay electricians on the Crossrail project in London bonuses of more than £4 an hour.

The deal was struck at the Whitechapel site in east London. Workers are pushing for bonuses from other contractors on the route.

The bonus payments would add nearly £900 per month to every worker's wage packet. This is in line with the JIB national agreement between bosses and unions.

Electricians have dubbed the job the "Hokey Cokey" line because they take so many work cables out after putting them in because bosses' technical drawings are wrong.

FRACKING

Rally against the frackers

HUNDREDS OF activists were set to descend on Preston New Road near Blackpool in Lancashire in a nationwide rally against fracking this Saturday.

Cuadrilla are building what could become the first operational fracking rig in Britain for six years. But protesters have hampered progress by walking slowly in front of lorries.

Another protest was set to take place at the same time in Marsh Lane outside Eckington in Derbyshire where firm Ineos plans to start fracking.

ANTHONY GRAINGER

Inquiry hears from police

A POLICE officer who built a profile of Anthony Grainger did not intend firearms officers to use it, a public inquiry heard.

Anthony was shot dead by a firearms officer after police moved to arrest three men in a stolen Audi in Culceth, Cheshire, on 3 March 2012.

It was part of "Operation Shire", which Greater Manchester Police (GMP) had launched to investigate the group for suspected armed robberies.

DC Rachel Griffiths had produced a "pen profile", an informal character description on Anthony that was used for Operation Shire.

But the inquiry heard that it was designed for a different operation.

The inquiry continues.

Eleanor Claxton-Mayer

●More on bit.ly/2kQJfpo

JOB CENTRES

PCS union should call strikes over jobs

RESISTANCE TO Tory plans to axe half of job centres in Glasgow is growing.

Around 80 trade unionists and campaigners joined a meeting called by the PCS union last Saturday.

PCS president Janice Godrich told the meeting, "We all have a duty and responsibility to fight back against these attacks."

This is part of a bigger attack on the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) that will shut one in ten job centres across Britain.

Closures will force benefit claimants to travel further. They are more likely to be sanctioned for missing appointments or being late.

Many of the closures will be in some of the most deprived areas.

The Tories also want to



Defending job centres from closure in Glasgow

close around a fifth of other DWP offices.

The PCS union's DWP group executive committee (GEC) met last week to plan its fight to save jobs at those sites.

They plan to focus on "hotspot" offices such as Barrow in Furness in Cumbria or Llanelli in Wales, where closure could mean

compulsory redundancies.

The GEC also said it would support PCS branches that strike against closure.

It will take strikes to save jobs. At the very least the PCS should call a DWP-wide strike ballot if compulsory redundancies are announced.

Thanks to Drew McEwan

FBU UNION

Firefighters debate plans for unpaid medical care

by NICK CLARK

FIREFIGHTERS IN the FBU union will debate whether they should continue to do extra work for no extra pay at a recall conference next month.

Fire brigades have been trialling "Emergency Medical Response" (EMR) in some areas such as London.

This sees firefighters provide medical help alongside paramedics in some emergencies.

The FBU will meet in Blackpool on 21 March to discuss their response to the trials and whether they should be extended.

The trials have already been extended twice.

Some union members argue that they should not

be extended again unless firefighters' pay is increased.

As FBU member Simon Hickman from Manchester told Socialist Worker in a personal capacity, "If we're doing this extra work then we should be getting paid for it."

And in a statement the London region of the FBU said, "After years of pay restraint and cuts we need to start making demands of our own."

"There is a real danger of the trials having the effect of embedding the work in the service by default."

"There is now growing unease among London FBU members that we are providing a significant concession to the employers and the government without receiving a penny in return."

British soldiers are back fighting in Iraq

by TOMÁŠ TENGELY-EVANS

IRAQI government troops, backed by the US and Britain, began a fresh assault on the northern city of Mosul on Monday.

US and British SAS special forces, aircraft and drones are at the forefront of the attempt to retake the western half of the city. This is the reactionary, sectarian outfit Isis's last major stronghold in Iraq after it lost eastern Mosul last December.

The Times newspaper crowed on Monday, "SAS troops spearhead liberation of Mosul." But the assault threatens 650,000 people trapped in the city.

In the latest show of the Iraqi government's sectarian brutality, fresh footage of its troops committing torture emerged last week.

The videos, posted on a social media page supporting the government, show troops torturing and executing suspected Isis-sympathisers in eastern Mosul.

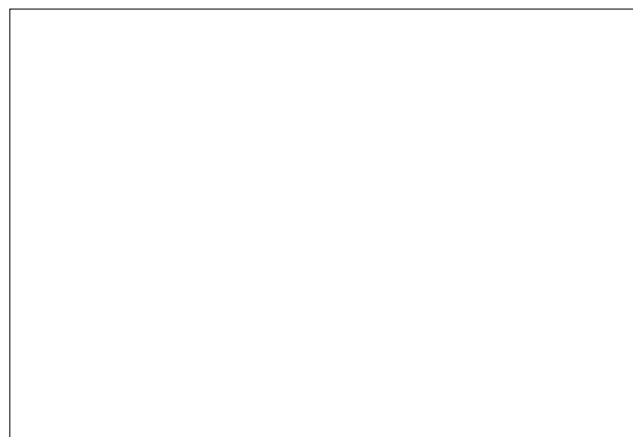
The Iraqi government's imperialist sponsors are no better.

As the Western-backed force fought to retake Mosul airport, US defence secretary James "Mad Dog" Mattis flew in unannounced. He claimed that the US was "not in Iraq to seize anybody's oil"—but these hollow words should not fool anyone.

Before former US president Barack Obama promoted



A BURIAL in Gogjali, near Mosul (above) and Mosul city centre less than four years ago (below)



Mattis, he was a top general during the US invasion and occupation of Iraq in 2003.

Mattis spearheaded the siege of Fallujah in 2004 where the US used white phosphorus chemical weapons, one of its greatest war crimes in Iraq.

Referring to the war in Afghanistan, Mattis said, "It's a hell of a lot of fun to shoot people—I like brawling."

But the US is in for more than a brawl in Iraq.

When it invaded in 2003 to project its power, it had

hoped for a swift and decisive win that would give it control over a key choke point of global capitalism. Instead, it is still reaping the whirlwind of its defeat.

The US invasion and occupation of Iraq manufactured the conditions for Isis to grow. Faced with a national resistance movement across the Shia and Sunni religious divide, the US turned to divide and rule.

First it built a sectarian Shia state in the south of Iraq that remains in place. After

this the US still faced a range of Sunni resistance organisations in the north of Iraq, including Isis's forerunner Al Qaida in Iraq (AQI).

So it promised the other Sunni organisations a "national unity government" if they fought against AQI.

But after they crushed AQI, all talk of power-sharing was dumped, further entrenching sectarianism.

Isis's scattered forces regrouped in the chaos of the Syrian civil war and crossed the border back into Iraq in 2014.

Alliances

Because Obama's US wasn't strong enough to put boots on the ground again, it relied more on drones and constructing a web of tactical alliances.

So Iran, once part of George W Bush's axis of evil, became a key ally in propping up the Iraqi government.

Trump is a threat to these complex networks of alliances.

His aim is still to project US power across the world, but he would like a return to more "go it alone" policies.

More bombing in Iraq and the Middle East is no solution to the brutality that was unleashed by imperialism.

The only solution lies in working class people in the Middle East rising up across the sectarian divide against imperialism, their own despots and Isis.

AFGHANISTAN

More troops will deepen the crisis

TORY DEFENCE secretary Michael Fallon has said that without British troops Afghanistan would "collapse" and more than four million refugees would come into Europe.

There are currently 500 British troops in Afghanistan, but numbers

are set to increase.

Fallon's pronouncement reeks of hypocrisy.

A major driver of the refugee crisis has been the US and Britain's wars in the Middle East and Afghanistan.

More war and more troops will not

help the situation.

The Tories are trying to whip up racism by scaremongering about refugees.

They are also trying to keep Britain's place at the top table of imperialism and further ingratiate themselves with Trump.

PALESTINE

Trump tempers support of Israel

IN A press conference with Israeli prime minister Binyamin Netanyahu, US president Donald Trump announced he was not committed to a "two-state" solution between the Palestinian Authority (PA) and Israel.

For over 50 years the

US has supported Israel, which protects its interests in the Middle East. But since 1993 it has also promised to help establish a Palestinian state.

Instead Trump said he was "looking at two-state and one-state" solutions.

His remarks were

interpreted as support for possible Israeli annexation of the West Bank, which it has occupied since 1967.

They also give Netanyahu licence to be more aggressive towards Palestinians.

Longer online at bit.ly/2kGQCvO